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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT OTTAWA, MAY 9, 1980 AT 2:45 p.m.

RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

EXTRAITS D'UNE CONFERENCE DE PRESSE TENUE À OTTAWA LE 9 MAI 1980, À 2h45

LE TRÈS HONORABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

MICHEL GUENARD (TVA): Q. Monsieur Trudeau, est-ce qu'avec l'adoption surprise de la motion de Monsieur Yurko vous vous sentez maintenant avoir les mains libres pour rapatrier unilatéralement la Constitution canadienne de Londres même si après vos consultations avec les Premiers ministres provinciaux vous n'obtenez pas l'unanimité de ceux-ci?

R. Non. Je ne pense pas que cette motion-là ait été présentée dans cette intention-là. J'ai l'impression que le proposeur de la motion était mû d'un mouvement généreux mais qu'il ne voulait pas que la Chambre des communes et que le Sénat agissent sans qu'il y ait consultation des Provinces pour cette raison qu'en parlant à l'improviste à la motion j'ai indiqué que nous avions l'intention de consulter les Provinces.

Q. Une supplémentaire.

Donc, ça veut dire, Monsieur Trudeau, que si vous n'obteniez un consentement unanime des Provinces vous ne procéderiez pas unilatéralement au rapatriement?

R. Ça veut dire que la question n'a pas été posée ce matin et que je n'ai pas eu à me prononcer là-dessus. Je ne pense pas que ce monsieur voulait introduire un élément nouveau dans le débat ni me délier de consultations ou d'appui unanime, selon votre question. Je ne pense pas que la motion de ce matin ait changé quoi que ce soit sauf que d'exprimer, encore une fois, le désir de tous les partis du Parlement canadien d'avoir une nouvelle Constitution parce que quand on parle de rapatrier la Constitution d'Angleterre il faut bien mettre dans la tête des gens qu'il ne s'agit pas d'aller chercher une vieille Constitution, de l'amener ici et que tout va être fait.

J'ai toujours insisté sur l'importance d'avoir une Constitution canadienne faite par les Canadiens au Canada et la résolution de ce matin était à la périphérie de cette intention que nous avons. C'était pour mettre fin au lien colonial comme nous avons déjà tenté de le faire à Victoria et à bien d'autres occasions depuis.

JEAN-MARC POLIQUIN (Radio-Canada TV) Q. Monsieur Trudeau, pour donner suite à la motion Yurko, quelles démarches seront entreprises dans l'immédiat du côté Parlement et du côté de l'exécutif?

R. Ecoutez, ne soyons pas naïfs. Vous êtes des gens de la galerie de la presse. Je serais fort surpris si le parti auquel Monsieur Yurko appartient savait qu'il allait proposer cette motion; nous, nous ne le savions pas. C'est arrivé comme un cheveu sur la soupe, c'est

le cas de le dire, ça exprimait une intention. Nous avions déjà tenté, depuis et avant Victoria, de donner suite à cette intention-là; nous ne pouvions pas l'opposer. Mais ce n'est pas une motion que nous avions étudiée, une motion dont nous avions pris connaissance. Par conséquent, il ne faut pas y voir un élément stratégique nouveau introduit de concert par les partis à la Chambre des communes ou bien même par le Parti Conservateur puisque c'est une motion présentée en l'absence même de Monsieur Clark.

Alors, je ne peux vraiment pas vous suivre sur ces spéculations-là parce que c'était ça, la réalité.

FRANCOIS PERREAULT (Radio-Canada TV) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, il reste néanmoins qu'avec cette motion dont le Parlement a fait l'adoption, le Parlement est quand même lié maintenant en ce sens qu'on a accepté à l'unanimité, on a reconnu ce besoin de rapatrier la Constitution, enfin, d'envoyer une adresse à la Reine pour déclencher le processus de rapatriement.

Comment pourriez-vous nous situer dans le temps sur la façon de procéder? Est-ce que ça peut être un outil intéressant pour vous dans la campagne référendaire au Québec, est-ce que finalement cette coincidence -- puisque ça semble être une coincidence, à ce que vous dites -- ne vient pas un peu vous servir dans la campagne référendaire? Est-ce que vous n'allez pas nous présenter éventuellement un délai... et peut-être un geste que vous avez l'intention de poser, geste conjoint signé par le Sénat et les Communes, par exemple, pour le déclencher ce processus?

R. Malheureusement, non. Je ne vois pas ça du tout se situant dans le contexte référendaire. Si vous voulez ma réaction, ça me donne un peu envie de pleurer de nostalgie. J'ai proposé aux Provinces réunies au mois de février 1979 et plusieurs fois par écrit avant cela dans des lettres personnelles au Premier ministre Lévesque et à tous les autres Premiers ministres provinciaux, j'ai proposé précisément cela: qu'on ait une Constitution au Canada faite au Canada par des Canadiens, qu'on mette fin aux liens avec Londres et qu'on en profite pour mettre dans cette nouvelle Constitution une protection des droits de la personne et également les garanties de l'égalité linguistique de l'anglais et du français. A ce moment-là, il semblait que je prêchais un peu dans le désert. Je me faisais dire par beaucoup de commentateurs, surtout anglophones, la question de la Constitution ce n'est pas important, le rapatriement ce n'est pas important, c'est l'économie qui importe, etc.

Ce ne sont pas des idées nouvelles. C'est précisément ce que nous avions proposé à Victoria et c'est précisément ce que j'ai suggéré depuis plusieurs années sans, sauf erreur, l'appui du Parti Conservateur ou même du Parti NPD. Je ne veux pas accuser personne mais je ne me souviens pas qu'ils se soient jamais donnés la peine de nous appuyer dans cette démarche. Tout-à-coup, ce matin, c'est arrivé par un député nouveau, je crois, et tant mieux! C'est tant mieux! Ça indique ça, que les autres partis ont enfin compris l'importance pour le Canada d'une nouvelle Constitution

avec les droits au Canada de l'amender, etc., mais je vous implore! Rappelez-vous les centaines de fois que j'ai dit ça prêchant dans un désert. Ce matin, c'est arrivé, bon, tant mieux! Mais ce n'est pas un élément nouveau dans le débat référendaire. Les gens savent, je l'espère, depuis longtemps que nous voulions mettre fin à ce lien colonial, je l'ai écrit en toutes lettres à Monsieur Lévesque à plusieurs reprises et à Monsieur Bourassa avant lui.

Q. Si je peux me permettre une supplémentaire.

Jusqu'à quel point sentez-vous votre gouvernement et le Parlement liés par l'adoption de cette motion pour poser un geste? Est-ce que finalement vous vous sentez obligé par cette adoption à l'unanimité de la motion de poser un geste à plus ou moins court terme?

R. Absolument pas. C'est pour ça que dans le court débat improvisé sur la motion j'ai précisé que je voulais bien que le Parlement demande au gouvernement de faire ce que le gouvernement tentait de faire depuis déjà au moins douze ans, mais j'ai trouvé important de souligner aux gens d'en face que si nous n'avions pas réussi ce n'est pas faute d'avoir essayé; nous n'avions pas réussi parce que nous n'avions un appui d'un certain nombre de Provinces et c'est pour ça que j'ai précisé, comme on me le faisait dire tout-à-l'heure, que nous n'avons pas l'intention, encore une fois, de dire eh bien, le Parlement nous autorise à agir, on va y aller indépendamment de ce que pensent les Québécois, les Albertains ou les gens de la Colombie britannique.

ANDREW SZENDE
TORONTO STAR

Mr. Prime Minister, first of all, do you believe now that there is a Santa Claus and his name is Bill Yurko?

Secondly, can you tell us how soon you expect to be able to talk to the provinces to consult them, as you suggested in the House today, and do you not feel that you have much more clout when you go to them because you have the backing of the House of Commons behind you when you sit down with them?

R. I would believe that, that there is a Santa Claus, and that that is his name. If Mr. Bill Yurko could obtain from his leaders an assertion that this means that, failing agreement with the provinces, we should go it alone -- just the federal government.

I did not sense that that is what he meant in his motion; but if that is the position of the Tory Party, which voted the motion unanimously, indeed there is a Santa Claus.

Q. May I just ask a supplementary? Certainly when you read the words of the motion, they certainly say nothing about unanimous consent from the provinces before bringing the Constitution back. So, if you cannot agree on an amending formula, there is no reason why you would not be empowered by that resolution to go to Westminster and act on the instructions of Parliament.

R. Well, there is no reason, except that the motion itself says that I would have to have a joint address of both Houses. That is the way you address Westminster -- through a joint address.

There is no guarantee in that motion that this joint address will be granted unanimously by the House of Commons, as the motion was this morning, is there? And I am asking you -- I am sure some of you must have thought of it and must have talked to this Member of Parliament after his motion -- please ask him and please tell us -- not me personally, but let us know if the intention was indeed that Parliament should go without the agreement of the provinces.

If the answer is "yes", and if he is speaking on behalf of his party, then this indeed is a very new development, and it might be a welcome one because that might ultimately be the way by which Parliament wants to break the deadlock. But I would want to know more about his intention. You are quite right, the words do not talk about consultation; but let us hear from the leaders of that party, who supported that motion, that they mean we could proceed without consultation. Then we will know their policy.

CHRISTINE HEARN - BC-TV With regard to your talks with the Premier of British Columbia, did you tie development of the north-eastern B.C. coal fields into the Alcan Pipeline? If so, was this a surprise to the Premier, and is that what made the talks somewhat less of a success?

R. I can answer, frankly, that I did not tie these two things together. There was a long meeting between the provincial ministers and the federal ministers on Monday before I met with the Premier on Tuesday, and I think it is not indiscreet to say that at that point a package had been reached which we the federal government are still prepared to go along with.

The Premier and I, when we met the Press after our meeting, stated the facts as they exist. We met; we looked at the package. We thought it could be improved, and we are attempting to improve it through negotiations in good faith.

I can state unequivocally that those -- and I do not believe the Premier or any of the ministers have said this, but I understand that there are some so-called leaks from officials in British Columbia -- that those leaks are completely contrary to the fact -- the leaks to the effect that I would come in with a new dimension and that broke up the whole thing. That is a complete and utter lie. But I am satisfied that the Premier never said that, nor will he say that.

SID MARGLES - Mr. Prime Minister, nearly 10 years ago, after SBN some very unpleasant circumstances in Quebec, or during them, you were forced to bring in an act called the War Measures Act.

Subsequent to that, it was indicated by you, among others, that you would replace that act with something a little more palatable but still forceful enough, or strong enough, to control circumstances that might arise where legislation would be appropriate. What ever happened to the good intent of your government over the series of years up until now?

A. Can I remind you that the War Measures Act was proclaimed after the Premier of the province and the Mayor of Montreal had written us a letter asking us to proclaim such an act because they had apprehended insurrection in their province and in their city.

Let me remind you, also, that that act was replaced by an act setting aside the War Measures Act, which was called the Emergency Powers Act, or something of that nature.

Q. But that was but a temporary measure. There was to be substitute or replacement legislation that would be, let's say, almost the equivalent of the War Measures Act, but without the far-reaching powers that the War Measures Act did provide to Ministers of the Crown.

A. You will recall that the War Measures Act was only brought in insofar as certain stated regulations were adopted. The War Measures Act, indeed, gives all powers to the federal government in theory; but in practice it only gives certain limited powers, and those limited powers were set out in the regulations. It is these which were then replaced by this

temporary act to deal with the situation.

I think that what we would have liked to have seen at the time was that, if any events ever occurred again which called for some form of emergency action, it would not call for the proclamation of the War Measures Act but something short of it, such as we adopted in those few months at the end of 1970.

I guess we were so successful in getting the support of the people after we had crushed the attempt to terrorize the city and the province, there has been no occasion and no need to bring in that type of legislation. In other words, I think it was shown at that time that terrorism did not pay, not only in the sense that it did not achieve its objectives, but that the people of Quebec massively supported the strong measures taken by the municipal, provincial and federal governments. As a result of that, we had no more terrorism, and maybe that precaution which we wanted to take then has proven itself unnecessary; I do not know. But certainly that is the lesson of the past 10 years, and I think that is the lesson in terrorism international. We have always been stating that if you act quickly and firmly with terrorists, you generally nip it in the bud and there is less chance of it coming up again than if you deal with them leniently. But, in so many words, there is nothing in the works now along the lines that you ask about.

STUART LANGFORD, CBC-TV: Mr. Prime Minister, with regard to the "43" motion today, if I can get back to it for a moment, if Bill Yurko is Santa Claus, I do not want to be the Grinch who stole Christmas, but it seems to me that, even if you all have the same intention here in Ottawa, the recent Supreme Court ruling in the reference case on the Senate might indicate that your intentions may not be enough and that in fact the support given there to the Fulton-Favreau approach, and the principle laid out in that approach that you need the agreement of the provinces for smething that is going to affect provincial-federal relationships, would seem to indicate that in fact even if all parties agree, and even if you have a "43" motion, and even if you approach the Queen, perhaps that will not be enough. Could you give me your thoughts on that?

A. My first thought is that if Santa Claus is bringing any presents, it is to you people at the media. I wonder what kind of a Press Conference we would have had had we not had Bill Yurko present this surprise motion this morning.

My thoughts, I suppose, would be contained in a long dissertation on the Constitution. But, I think in practice it suffices to say that, whether the Supreme Court case would apply or not, as you indicate that it might, I am prepared to say that we will consult the provinces, even though the motion didn't say we should, just in the case, in the event, the Supreme Court decision might apply -- which I would not concede, incidentally. But if it did, then I still say I am prepared

to consult the provinces.

I do not know if it is interesting, but I can tell you why I do not believe that the Senate Decision would apply to the case for amending the Constitution, because the Senate decision was based on the notion that the Senate was not entirely within federal jurisdiction and, therefore, consultations should take place as they would if we were trying to take something out of section 92 to put it into section 91. But this is not what we would be doing if there were patriation of the BNA Act. We would not be changing, in any sense, the distribution of powers between the federal and the provincial governments. In other words, we would not be depriving them of the right to make laws on natural resources, on property and civil rights, or, indeed, on their right, according to the Supreme Court, to say something about the Senate. We would not be depriving them of any right at all. We would just be saying the very same Constitution which now can only be amended in Britain will, henceforth, be in Canada.

But, I mean, this is a bit of a legal argument, and you probably would want to argue it -- which maybe we might some day find ourselves doing.

MICHEL GALAN (Agence France-Presse) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, au cours de votre allocution en réponse au discours du Trône vous aviez insisté sur les forces centrifuges qui risquaient de briser le pays. Est-ce que dans cette motion d'aujourd'hui vous voyez une tendance inverse qui pourrait exprimer un retournement psychologique dans le pays puisque c'est un député d'Edmonton en Alberta qui a posé la question et que l'Alberta était, je crois, une des forces centrifuges?

R. Voulez-vous le lui demander, s'il-vous-plaît? Voulez-vous aller l'interroger, ce monsieur? Je ne sais pas ce qu'il voulait, c'est ça, la vérité. Je ne sais pas s'il pense que le gouvernement devrait devenir plus centralisateur, s'il devrait agir sans l'unanimité des Provinces, etc., je n'en sais rien.

Moi, ma position reste la même. La sienne, celle du Parti Conservateur, je n'en sais rien et j'aimerais bien que vous le lui demandiez.

CATHERINE BERGMAN (Radio-Canada) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous avez dit à plusieurs reprises que si le non l'emportait le 20 mai vous alliez entreprendre le processus de renouvellement de la fédération. Je voudrais vous demander si à l'heure actuelle vous envisagez de convoquer une conférence constitutionnelle avant ou après la rencontre annuelle des Premiers ministres des provinces qui a lieu au mois d'août?

R. Je crois que la première chose à faire serait de consulter les Provinces sur la tenue

possible d'une conférence et sur un ordre du jour. Je serais prêt, quant à moi, de faire cela dès le mois de juillet mais je n'impose pas cette date aux Provinces. Si ces Provinces tiennent à se voir ensemble au mois d'août avant d'avoir cette conférence, je ne crois pas que j'insisterai, mais je peux vous dire que dans mon esprit on ne peut pas tergiverser encore pendant plusieurs années. Nous nous sommes engagés comme vous nous le rappelez, à donner au Canada une Constitution nouvelle, je pense qu'il faudra s'y mettre tout de suite après une victoire du non, probablement même aussi après une victoire du oui, il faudra s'y mettre tout de suite et il faudra montrer non seulement aux Québécois mais aux gens de toutes les provinces que nous sommes capable rapidement de produire des résultats.

Q. Donc, oui ou non, on aurait une conférence constitutionnelle au mois de juillet.

R. Je n'ai pas dit ça. J'ai dit que si la réponse est non, je serais prêt, moi, à tenir une conférence au mois de juillet. Ça serait à une autre date si les Provinces y tiennent. Je dis également qu'il faut absolument que nous débloquions cela. On a toujours dit, quant à nous, et je pense que c'est la pensée générale à travers le Canada, qu'un non au référendum doit signifier un accord au renouvellement du fédéralisme, à l'établissement d'une Constitution nouvelle pour le Canada. J'ai indiqué que j'étais prêt à le faire et je ne voudrais pas que ni Monsieur Lévesque ni les autres Premiers ministres provinciaux prennent prétexte

qu'ils ne sont pas prêts, pour dire eh! bien, ça va prendre encore un autre quatre ou cinq ans. Je pense qu'il faut commencer vite mais je ne veux pas vous promettre que ça sera au mois de juillet nécessairement.

GARY ALDRIDGE, CBC-RADIO NEWS: Mr. Prime Minister, a three-part question to follow up on your answers in the House today about Chrysler. First of all, just when did you discuss with Premier Davis the Chrysler situation yesterday -- was it before or after the Cabinet meeting?

Do you think that the timing of that discussion might have led, or helped to lead, to the misunderstanding on Mr. Gray's part about whether or not he could make an announcement yesterday afternoon; and if that wasn't it, do you know now what led to the misunderstanding?

Finally, do you think that the fact that the federal Cabinet agreed with Ontario that you should attempt to get a better deal from Chrysler suggests that the Cabinet did not think Mr. Gray's deal was all that good?

A. I think Mr. Gray had a good deal. Mr. Gray has been, I think, a little bit an innocent victim of something we had not predicted, that Ontario would not be prepared to move at the same time as us. But from the point where the Government of Ontario said that its participation would only be conditional on certain things happening, then it would have been very difficult for us to say that we are going to give Chrysler a better deal than Ontario is prepared to give Chrysler. So, in that sense, I say quite frankly I think Mr. Gray did a very good job and put together a very

good deal for Canada and for Canadian workers and Canadian investment. If it is the judgment of the Province of Ontario that that deal can be improved, certainly we did not want to be in the position of saying: "Well, let's not give Ontario a chance of improving it", which Mr. Davis indicated to me that he would attempt to do early next week.

I can understand Mr. Gray, having negotiated, again, what the Cabinet thought was a good deal, being disappointed. I am disappointed. I have to admit that the Ontarians are even better if they can get a better deal, but the danger is -- and it is on that basis that we wanted to make the announcement yesterday -- the danger is that if the whole thing falls through, there will be a lot of workers out of a job. That is why I wish -- well, I wish, for instance, the auto workers were more forthcoming, and the NDP. You know, they are always blaming the government for, on the one hand, letting the auto industry go down the drain, as they put it, and workers losing their jobs, and, on the other hand, I can be darned sure that they will blame the government, federal and provincial, if the Chrysler deal should not fly and the corporation goes bankrupt.

I think, quite frankly, that it would have been very much more helpful if the auto workers who are concerned about their jobs, the members of their union, and the NDP, who say they are concerned about jobs of the auto workers, too, had been prepared to say: "Well, this is the deal. Maybe in a better world we could have had a better one, but we have to save

these jobs. It looks pretty good to us, and we will support it, and we will support it publicly and strongly."

But this has not happened in the Ontario Legislature, nor outside of it.

Q. Are you saying, then, that the delay may have increased the risk of the whole deal falling through?

A. That is what we have heard from the beginning -- that Chrysler has been teetering on the edge of bankruptcy for months now and that if a package is not put together in the United States and, as regards its offshoots in Canada, in Canada, too, the creditors will begin asking for a Declaration of Bankruptcy. If that happens, I will be looking forward to seeing what the Auto Workers then say -- you know, "We thought we could have got a better deal, but now we have nothing at all," and that isn't a nice situation.

Governments have to do the best they can and then gamble that that time is ripe, and we thought that was yesterday. I repeat, I was completely supportive of the deal that Mr. Gray put together, and I still am. But I have to say, in honesty, that if Mr. Davis' government can do a bit better, I do not want to be in the way to stop that even better deal. But it is a risk.

SANTIAGO GONZALES, MEXICAN PRESS CORP.: Mr. Prime Minister, I am a Mexican journalist. As you know, Mexican President Lopez Portillo is coming to Canada on the 15th of May next to have a series of interviews with you to reach bilateral agreements

between both countries.

In the global scenery, can you tell me which are the main items concerning both Mexico and Canada; what Mexico can expect from your country; what Canada expects from Mexico; and what Mexico needs from Canada?

A. Well, I must confess, I have not seen the agenda for the talks yet. I do know we will be talking about energy, about industrial co-operation, about the desire that both the Mexican people and the Canadian people have for not only friendlier relations but also for diversifying our trade relations.

We are both neighbours of a very great country -- to our south and to the north of Mexico -- and I believe that the Mexicans, from former meetings I have had with President Echeverria and also with President Lopez Portillo when he was just President Designate, that the Mexicans, like us, are interested in diversifying their trading and commercial relations, and I am quite sure that will be a very important part of our discussions. But I would hope that we would not only talk about bilateral matters but that we will also talk about international problems and that, particularly in the north-south dialogue, Mexico will be able to play an important role in helping countries of the North and of the South groups to find common grounds and to develop and improve international financial institutions. I hope that will be an important part of our conversations also.

ALAN BAYLESS, WALL STREET JOURNAL: This is a "Western" question, Mr. Trudeau. This week the Alberta government introduced a bill that would give it the power to limit oil production. I am wondering just how seriously you take Premier Lougheed's repeated threats to cut oil, to cut off the taps, and also if you share what seems to be Alberta's view that Confederation itself could be at risk if your government tries to get more energy revenue out of provinces where your government has no elected representatives?

A. I believe Mr. Lalonde, our Energy Minister, will be in Alberta in a few days and they will be discussing the very question you are asking. But without having studied the legislation to which you refer, it would seem to me that it presents no difficulty, nor do I see it in the nature of a threat. It is just giving the province the power to do that which it has the power to do under the Constitution. It is giving it legal authority to administer resources in a good, sound way, and whether that were done with oil in Alberta, or with copper in Ontario, or lumber in Quebec, I see nothing wrong with such legislation.

MONSIEUR TRUDEAU: J'ai, seulement pour la presse francophone, une chose qui peut peut-être vous amuser... si je peux la trouver... on vient de me la donner.

J'ai appris que Monsieur Bourgault et Monsieur D'Allemagne m'avaient fait l'honneur d'une réponse après mon intervention à Montréal où j'avais dit que ces gens-là étaient au moins des purs de l'indépendance, et dans un article publié, je pense, le surlendemain de mon intervention, Monsieur Bourgault et Monsieur D'Allemagne ensemble auraient dit que ce n'est pas ça, qu'ils étaient à cent pour cent derrière Monsieur Lévesque et que la question de Monsieur Lévesque était parfaitement claire.

Je voudrais seulement lire dans La Presse du 20 octobre 1978 une interview de Monsieur Bourgeault où il dit en toutes lettres:

> "La souveraineté n'est pas l'affaire de négociation. L'association ou les associations qu'on peut toujours envisager se négocient mais on ne peut pas demander à nos adversaires, on ne peut pas demander au Canada de négocier la souveraineté. C'est à nous de la décider."

Et il continue:

> "Au moment où le référendum accorde au gouvernement une majorité de oui, ce gouvernement (celui de Monsieur Lévesque) s'en va à Ottawa et demande de négocier la souveraineté-association. Ottawa n'a qu'à dire non ou laisser traîner les négociations en longueur, il n'y a

> plus de position de repli, on ne peut plus se retourner et déclarer l'indépendance unilatéralement. C'est laisser toute l'initiative à la partie adverse. C'est Ottawa et le Canada anglais qui vont décider si nous ferons l'indépendance ou non."

C'est exactement, il me semble, ce que j'avais dit à ma conférence à Montréal que la question demandait aux Québécois de décider d'une chose qui ne relevait pas d'eux et par conséquent que cette question était au moins ambiguë.

J'ai également une citation de Monsieur Chaput dans le même sens, du 18 octobre 1978. Monsieur Chaput -- et c'était entre guillemets:--

> "Si vous voulez faire librement une association, il faut que vous soyez d'abord souverains."

Alors, ces deux messieurs-là disaient la même chose que moi. Je m'étonne maintenant qu'ils disent que la question est parfaitement claire et que c'est moi qui essaie de l'embrouiller.

Enfin, ceux qui veulent lire ces documents, ils peuvent les trouver là.

Je les trouve très édifiants.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN OTTAWA, MAY 29,1980 at 3:30 p.m.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

EXTRAITS D'UNE CONFERENCE DE PRESSE TENUE À OTTAWA LE 29 MAI 1980, À 15:30.

LE TRÈS HONORABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

CATHERINE BERGMAN, Radio-Canada Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, à propos des négociations avec l'Alberta, le Ministre de l'Ontario laisse entendre que le fédéral pourrait agir unilatéralement et il suggère qu'il devrait le faire.

Or, ma question c'est de savoir est-ce que votre gouvernement exclut l'action unilatérale du champ d'élections possibles dans ce domaine-là?

R. Je veux vous dire sincèrement que nous ne l'envisageons pas. Je n'ai pas pris connaissance de cette déclaration que vous attribuez à l'Ontario, probablement qu'ils examinaient les possibilités théoriques mais quant à nous, nous nous sommes toujours engagés dans des négociations qui, depuis, vous vous le rappelez, depuis la crise de l'OPEC en '73 ont toujours été terminées, résolues par un accord avec l'Alberta.

Les programmes étaient toujours inquiétants, on prévoyait toujours des crises majeures et une action unilatérale. J'ai toujours dit, quant à moi, que j'avais confiance que cela se ferait par une entente et cela s'est toujours fait par une entente et je continue d'espérer celà.

Alors, pour cette raison-là, vous m'excuserez, mais je ne veux pas envisager l'hypothèse même d'une action unilatérale.

MICHEL GUENARD , TVA Q. Monsieur Trudeau, je voudrais revenir sur la déclaration de votre ministre de l'Energie qui craint que certaines provinces ne tentent

d'obtenir une souveraineté économique à l'intérieur de l'association politique.

Compte tenu que ce travers... que vos travers politiques originent du renchérissement des richesses naturelles des provinces, comment est-ce que vous allez concilier ce phénomène récent avec une réforme constitutionnelle où vous souhaitez ne réduire en rien le pouvoir de l'état central sur les grands leviers économiques de la nation?

R. Je n'ai jamais exprimé ce souhait. Au contraire, vous vous rappelez qu'à la conférence constitutionnelle de février '79, j'ai répété ce que j'avais dit depuis à peu près dix ans que j'étais prêt à limiter quelques-uns de ces grands leviers. Je ne sais pas auquel exactement vous faites allusion mais si vous pensez au pouvoir de dépenser, par exemple, qui nous a permis d'initier beaucoup de projets dans des domaines que les Provinces considéraient comme tombant sous leur juridiction ou si vous considérez le pouvoir déclaratoire, j'ai toujours indiqué que nous étions prêt à envisager des limitations au pouvoir fédéral dans ces domaines économiques.

Alors, ça reste mon attitude et je ne voudrais pas que les Provinces pensent que cela pourrait aller jusqu'à abdiquer complètement notre souveraineté à nous, notre juridiction à nous dans certains domaines touchant l'économie, mais le fédéralisme est, par définition, un partage des souverainetés ou, si l'on veut, un exercice de la souveraineté tantôt par l'un et tantôt par l'autre niveau de gouvernement, mais dans des domaines de juridictions distinctes.

Ce à quoi le ministre de l'Energie s'opposait -- et certainement notre gouvernement aussi -- c'est une tendance chez certaines Provinces à

réclamer un tel degré de souveraineté économique que cela va à l'encontre de la notion de partage qui est à la base du fédéralisme canadien, et peut-être encore plus grave et d'une façon plus élémentaire, va à l'encontre de l'idée même du marché commun.

On n'a qu'à songer aux différents exemples qu'on a vus depuis plusieurs années où les Provinces limitaient la mobilité ouvrière d'une province à l'autre, limitaient la mobilité des capitaux. Quand un pays ne protège même pas cette liberté fondamentale qu'est la liberté de mouvement à l'intérieur de son pays de sa main-d'oeuvre, je pense qu'on est allé fort loin, et je n'ai pas encore une fois à évoquer tous les exemples depuis cette guerre entre l'Ontario et le Québec sur la mobilité de la main-d'oeuvre, cette guerre entre le Québec et Terre-Neuve sur le transport de l'énergie à travers la province de l'autre et, encore plus dernièrement, certaine législation provinciales tendant à dire, eh bien, nous ne permettrons pas aux ouvriers des autres provinces de trouver de l'emploi chez nous, par exemple, dans l'exploitation des fonds sous-marins, et ce sont des positions provinciales qui ne sont pas les miennes. Si ce sont des positions comme bases de négociations, nous sommes prêt à négocier mais il faut absolument que l'on accepte que le gouvernement fédéral, lui, a pour mission fondamentale de protéger au moins le marché commun canadien, l'unité du Canada comme unité économique.

PAUL RACINE: Radio-Canada Q. Monsieur Trudeau, à la Chambre des Communes vous avez laissé entendre que vous étiez peut-être disposé à vous laisser accompagner à la prochaine conférence par les chefs de partis d'opposition et vous avez dit qu'à certaines conditions.

Quelles sont ces conditions minimales auxquelles vous seriez prêt à les laisser venir avec vous?

R. Entendons-nous bien. Il ne s'agissait pas de la rencontre du 9, n'est-ce pas, qui est une rencontre des Premiers ministres des provinces et de moi-même où nous ne sommes même pas accompagnés par nos ministres des affaires inter-provinciales, etc.

Il s'agirait plutôt d'autres conférences fédérales-provinciales encore à décider, mais si elles ont lieu et qu'il y a effectivement une délégation fédérale plus nombreuse que ma simple personne et que je peux me faire appuyer par les leaders des deux autres partis dans une position nationale canadienne commune, c'est la seule condition que je pose dans ma rencontre avec ces leaders des autres partis. Si nous nous entendons, par exemple, sur un certain nombre de principes de base sur lesquels le fédéralisme doit être posé ou si nous nous entendons même sur la question de l'enchâssement des droits fondamentaux et de la personne humaine, ce serait à notre avantage à tous les trois d'être appuyés les uns sur les autres pour que tous les partis nationaux participent à cette négociation, à ce renouvellement constitutionnel, mais il faut prévoir au moins la possibilité hypothétique de positions diamétralement opposées et à ce moment-là je ne pense que ce soit devant les Provinces que nous devrions aller vider nos propres différends, pas plus que je m'attendrais à ce que Monsieur Lévesque vienne ici accompagné de Monsieur Ryan pour dire, eh bien, voici la position commune de la Province de Québec. S'ils peuvent arriver à une position commune, je serais le premier réjoui et le premier à les accueillir tous les deux avec les bras ouverts.

Q. Est-ce que vous allez les rencontrer la semaine prochaine à ce sujet-là?

R. Oui. Les leaders des autres partis, s'ils veulent me rencontrer, j'ai offert de faire une rencontre avec eux individuellement.

ALAN BAYLESS: Wall Street Journal After Mr. Lalonde's speech to the Manufacturers Association it seems fairly clear that the federal government is seeking large new revenues from Alberta in particular and the western provinces generally. I was wondering if you think this might hurt, first of all, the chances of reaching a constitutional agreement, and second of all, perhaps even risking confederation itself by trying to get new revenues from provinces where your government does not have any elected representatives?

A. Well, I think you are begging the question in the form of it. If I can attempt to answer in some other way, let me say that large new revenues will be generated, but those revenues will originate largely in other provinces than Alberta, say. The question is not whether we are taking some past revenues from Alberta; it is a question of deciding how the future revenues should be distributed, and that has been the question forever, certainly in the case of petroleum since the OPEC crisis of 1973.

We have always reached agreement. There would be new revenues generated, paid mostly by the Canadian consumer in every province, and the question was how much should go to Alberta and how much should be returned to the other provinces. In a sense it is an old problem. We have solved it in the past. After some positions which are pretty far apart we finally found a compromise, and that is

why I was answering the first question by saying that I am not envisaging any unilateral action because past experience has shown that we can find a compromise.

Q. Would you permit a brief supplementary. Given the public position in Alberta and B.C. against gas export taxes and similar taxes, how can you reconcile that public position with getting a satisfactory agreement which will proviBe revenues for the federal government and still not ruin the constituional negotiating atmosphere?

A. Well, you know, if one wants to write the worst possible scenario I could answer that they are not reconciliable. But that is not the scenario that has always prevailed within negotiations with the Canadian provinces. You know, you could have said that early in 1974, in view of the position that we had taken on one price for petroleum from coast to coast and the export tax that we had already imposed on some produce from Alberta, you could have said that it was irreconcilable with positions taken by the premiers, and indeed it was until we met and reconciled them.

BRIAN KELLEHER: CBC Radio Prime Minister, could I ask you a question about the tone of federal statements since the referendum. You yourself seemed quite conciliatory in your statements, saying everything was negotiable except federalism and a charter of rights. Since then several ministers, including Mr. Johnston, Mr. De Bané and Mr. Lalonde, have seemed much more aggressive in warning of the danger of regional aspirations endangering a strong central government. I am wondering why that more aggressive tone is desirable before you have met with the provinces, considering the fact that there might be a negative reaction from them before you get to the June 9th meeting?

A. As I pointed out yesterday in the House of Commons, some federal ministers have taken what you describe as an aggressive tone, but I do not think you should discount negotiating positions taken by premiers or ministers at the provincial level. Naturally they are staking out a position for the provinces. I can merely repeat that our basic position has not changed: we want a preservation of federalism.

As I answered to an earlier question, federalism can be made to disappear if too great a measure of decentralization takes place. For instance, the very notion of the Canadian common market would disappear if there were not that basic freedom of Canadians to move from place to place in Canada to seek work or to seek investment. I repeat what I was saying in French a few moments ago. In the past few years this basic freedom has been eroded. We have seen provinces build barriers or walls against labour and capital coming not from the United States or Europe or Japan but coming from other provinces. This is incompatible with not only federalism; it is incompatible with the notion of a Canadian common market. Freedom of people to move within it. We have seen legislation just a couple of weeks ago, I believe, in one of the Atlantic provinces saying that on work in the offshore -- I do not have the exact words, but it was tantamount to saying that labour from other provinces was not welcome. I think our ministers were quite properly staking out a position against that extreme view.

Either you have a country or you don't. I am not upset about these positions any more than I was in the House yesterday. I am just saying that public opinion should not fault our ministers for being aggressive because they are saying that a Canadian common market, the notion of one country, must be preserved.

MALCOLM SCULLY: Prime Minister, you said again in the House of CKO Radio Commons that you see great need for haste to get the process going. I wonder in view of the at times, I think, almost irreconcilable differences between the levels of government, at times the almost apparent power mongering that goes on at different levels, do you see any value in trying to depoliticise -- take the politics out, in other words, of this whole process -- by instituting a constitutional congress to draft a constitution on a full-time basis and bring it back to the legislatures for ratification and debate?

A. I believe at a press conference not so long ago, maybe a year ago I said that that was not an option, which I exluded for theoretical reasons. I think in a sense it would only be able to come and be accepted by the politicians themselves if they had once again reported failure after a series of efforts.

Unfortunately in the present context I am not certain if that is a possible solution because of the time factor. If we have to go through the long process of electing delegates to a constitutional conference and then accept that that constitutional conference work over a period presumably of years to come up with a new constitution, perhaps time will have passed us by. But I am not excluding that as one of the possibilities that can be envisaged, but I would want to make sure once again that if it is envisaged it is not then used as an excuse by any of the premiers to say "We can't wait any longer", or by a federal governments, which was too hasty, so therefore we must do something unilaterlly.

That is the box we are in, but I am rather certain that that very subject will come up at the meeting on the ninth of June.

Q. A supplementary, if I may. You say the time is of the essence and you are not so sure if that will work. It strikes me that perhaps because of time the whole political ramifications of just the way legislatures conduct themselves, having a debate in the House of Commons just to get everybody's position in there and the same in the legislatures, you are looking at the same sort of extended time period. What assurances have you that the House of Commons and the provincial houses can indeed work speedily enough to get this thing through?

A. Well, let me say something which is perhaps not conventional wisdom. This constitutional area is very complicated from most points of view. But there are some basics which are not all that complicated and which, in a sense, we do not need constitutinnal conference constituent assembly to solve. Therefore, we don't need to go through that long process which is necessary after there has been a revolution and a king has been overthrown and you are wondering if you are going to set up a constitutional monarchy or a congressional system or a presidential system and so on. I don't sense the debate in those areas being very devisive.

There is a parliamentary democracy which exists in Canada about which there is not a great deal of debate; but if there were debate, I would go further and say that probably under sections 91(1) and 92(1) we can even change that parliamentary democracy to a great extent -- not to the extent of abolishing the monarchy, I do not think that is in the cards or being discussed, but to the extent of moving very drastically, say, towards a congressional system. A province can do that. A federal government can do that if they get an electoral mandate to do so.

So these are not complicated subjects of debate.. The more complicated subjects of debate are the division of powers, because once again, even if you take patriation or bills of rights, I think probably something close to

unanimity of the provincial premiers and myself, we would say we need a bill of rights. Therefore, why go to a constituent assembly to say that we are going to have one?

Perhaps even on language rights there is a great deal of unanimity, and what does not exist it is not certain would be solved by a constituent assembly. So the great area of disagreement is in the sharing of jurisdictions, and that has been the bone of contention and the area of breakdown in many of the constitutional meetings in the past half a dozen and more years.

You suggestion for a constituent assembly could indeed be to set one up to try to arrive at a better division of powers; but my hope once again is that reasonable men and women, even if they happen to be politicians, should make at least one more effort to say:"Look we are not arguing, we should not be arguing about our own power". Your expression, I think, was these "power struggles", or whatever you said. We should be thinking of what is good for the people and we should accept some basic principles as to what people we are elected to serve and, in a conflict, who comes first.

I stated some positions in the throne speech debate which did not get much attention because I also talked about the referendum and that, I think, was what drew most attention. But you know, I said that when there is a conflict of interest between a regional interest and the national interest, we have to ask ourselves which should prevail. I am not talking again of conflict of laws, because then the courts are there to decide. But if there is a conflict of interest about what is good for the nation as a whole and what is good for a city, a region or a province, I submit that you cannot have a nation unless you have to admit that in such circumstances the national interest must prevail. I do not say it should be exercised arbitrarily by the elected national government of the day, but I say that you have to at least admit that concept. The rest is the plumbing, as we say.

STUART LANGFORD: Mr. Prime Minister, having the national interest prevail is another area of contention Outside of the division of powers. I would say that it seems that the focal point in the last few conferences was what to do with a new Upper House. You came up with C-60 and everyone else, the printers, had a field day as everyone else came out with a new theory. I was wondering if you could give us some hint perhaps as to which way your mind is working along that subject. How would you feel, for instance, about the German model that the British Columbia government was so enarmoured of in their 1978 paper. Are you looking in some direction that you can give us on that?

A. I think I can tell you what principles guide me. Since the Upper House by nature in a federal form of government is supposed to represent regional interest rather than just the popular interests indiscriminately, I think the reform of the Upper House must be and should be tied to the question of regional versus national powers. In other words -- I know most of the premiers understand this very well, as most observers do -- those premiers who are asking for a strong Upper House which represents the provinces, as in the German system recommended by British Columbia, are prepared to say: "Okay, if we have that we don't have to emasculate the federal government of its powers because we will be in there in a sense controlling those powers".

On the other hand, you have had a premier like Mr. Lougheed of Alberta who said: "I don't want a modified Upper House and I don't want to have my say in the Upper House; I want to have more powers here exercised in the legislature sitting in Edmonton". These are both very logical and defensible positions.

Therefore, I say the whole question of the Upper House has to be solved at the same time as the question of division of powers. We are prepared to see the provinces come en masse and sit on Parliament Hill if we are left with very, very substantial powers like, indeed, the government in Bonn is left. But if we are going to continue

to be deprived of powers so that the provinces can exercise these powers in their own right, and to boot we are to be told that the powers that are left with us can only be exercised under the watchful eye of Big Brother the provinces, we say no deal.

So that is why I think the question of jurisdictions and the question of the Upper House should be faced together, with perhaps also the question of the Supreme Court which will be in large part the arbiter of the exercise of that divided sovereignty. But if the provinces were to come to me once again en masse and say: "Okay, we want to have a great voice in the Upper Chamber but in return we will let the federal powers be very, very considerable as they were before the period of decentralization which has been lasting some 20 years in Canada, then I would say maybe we have a deal. But let them not ask for both.

JOHN FERGUSON: Mr. Trudeau, the letters to the premiers very clearly give a tone of urgency, and yet looking at the track record over the last 50 years it has not been that great. Do you have in your mind some strategy, some method, some suggestion that you could lay on the table that would give that impression of momentum that you speak of in your letters? I am thinking of a couple of things that you have mentioned in the course of early questions, such as maybe separating language rights. Are there some things that you can get going right away, say at that meeting?

A. There are various courses which could be followed, but I think I can say honestly that I have not determined which courses should be followed until I have had that meeting with the leaders of the other national parties and with the premiers themselves. I would like to establish first that we are all agreed that (a) there is urgency, and (b) what we agreed to be urgent. Does urgency mean six months or does it mean six years? If we all agree on what is urgent, say in terms of six years, all agree including, say, Mr. Levesque and Mr. Lougheed, then that is another picture than if we say no, changes must come very soon. And if they must come very soon, obviously the area of agreement will probably be more restrained than if we have six years to do it. That is why in my telegram to the premiers I have indicated that we must try to agree on the basic principles which underlie the Canadian union, and secondly we must agree on the process; and the process, of course, includes timing.

FRANCINE BASTIEN, Radio-Canada Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans la même veine, est-ce que la date-cible du mois de juillet pour la tenue d'une conférence constitutionnelle en bonne et due forme demeure toujours valable et est-ce que c'est une date sur laquelle vous allez tenter d'obtenir le concensus des collègues des Provinces à la rencontre du 9 juin et, en deuxième lieu, parlant de délais, qu'est-ce qui vous apparaît à ce stade-ci comme un délai acceptable, un délai raisonnable au-delà duquel vous estimerez avoir accompli votre mandat ou votre tâche d'avoir renouvelé la Constitution canadienne?

R. Eh bien, la première question, je me permets de vous rappeler que cette date-cible, comme vous dites, du mois de juillet a été proposée surtout par les Premiers ministres provinciaux. J'ai déclaré qu'advenant un non au référendum, j'étais prêt à accepter cette date-cible mais, dans un sens, je l'ai devancée, je l'ai anticipée en proposant comme date-cible non pas le mois de juillet mais le 9 juin. C'est à cette première rencontre du 9 juin que nous déciderons si le processus sur lequel nous nous serons mis d'accord exige que nous nous réunissions encore à la fin de juin, à la fin de juillet ou plus tard dans l'été.

Encore une fois, tout dépend du processus. Il se peut qu'en juillet nous décidions qu'il serait suffisant que nous ayons une réunion des ministres chargés de la Constitution et des relations fédérales-provinciales, auquel cas les Premiers ministres provinciaux eux-mêmes retireront cette suggestion pour une date-cible.

Alors, je ne peux vraiment pas prédire quand il y aura une autre rencontre des Premiers ministres.

Pour la deuxième partie de votre question, je vais être assez franc en disant que dans mon esprit à moi, quand je parle d'urgence je parle plutôt en termes de six à dix mois qu'en termes de six à dix ans, et je vais vous dire pourquoi.

Je pense que dans le cas de la Province de Québec, il y a là un gouvernement, le gouvernement péquiste, qui, si nous n'avons pas débouché dans moins d'un an sur quelques progrès visibles il s'empressera de dire, eh bien, je vous l'avais dit, le fédéralisme n'est pas renouvelable, ça n'aboutit jamais, je demande un nouveau mandat électoral, et il fera ses élections sur le fait que nous n'ayons pas avançé, que nous n'ayons pas débloqué.

C'est pourquoi j'ai dit en réponse à une question antérieure que si Monsieur Lévesque lui-même ensemble avec les autres neuf Premiers ministres provinciaux est prêt à dire, eh bien, pour moi, il y a urgence mais donnons-nous trois ans, et que je sais par là qu'il n'en fera pas un ballon électoral, eh bien, je serais prêt à accepter les échéances qui me sont proposées à l'unanimité par les autres, mais quant à moi, je crois qu'il y a urgence pour la raison que je viens de vous dire et pour cette autre raison que malheureusement la passion du peuple canadien hors le Québec n'a jamais montré une continuité dans la ferveur qui soit bien, bien époustouflante. Autrement dit, le Canada anglais, le Canada des autres provinces est passionné par la réforme constitutionnelle maintenant, les Premiers ministres également le disent, de ces autres provinces mais qu'est-ce qui arrivera vers février ou juin de l'an prochain quand on aura négocié pendant bien des conférences fédérales-provincles, moi,

l'expérience me porte à croire qu'on dira, bien, mettons donc de côté tous ces problèmes et attaquez-vous donc aux vrais problèmes, soit l'inflation, le chômage, etc.

Alors, d'une part pour le Québec et, d'autre part, pour retenir l'attention des autres Provinces, je crois qu'il faut faire vite.

DAVID HALTON: To pick up on your last answer, Prime Minister, you have insisted on tangible, visible progress in the next eight to ten months. Surely if that is going to be achieved the First Ministers are going to have to abandon the kind of package deal, trade-off mentality that underlay their thinking, and indeed yours, to a degree, at the last constitutional conference.

A. Well, I would not want to be Hansardized on the eight to ten months. I gave that as an example. It can be more or less. I just want to indicate that I think we are talking in terms of months rather than years or decades. I must be cautious about every figure I give now. But your substantive question remains: "Will we have to abandon that package deal type of approach?"

I guess I would try to remain optimistic and say hopefully we can put a very large package together in a very short period of time. But if such is not the case, then I think your conclusions would follow -- that we may have to look for a smaller package and not talk in terms of these massive and global tradeoffs. I don't know how to say that and still leave the door open for hopefully as large an agreement as possible.

I read with some considerable interest Mr. Levesque's press conference, at least in parts where he was asked again and again: "Are you going to come down with some proposals?"

He kept saying the ball is our court. In a sense it is and we have convened a conference, but I do not think any premier who believes in federalism, as Mr. Levesque must, at least for the time being since his sovereignty-association has been rejected, must talk within the limits of the possibility of renewing that federalism.

In other words, I won't get into a game of open-ended negotiations with any province who will start saying: "Well, tell me what you have got", and I put it all on the table and they say not enough, or they say "We take that, but we want A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P more." I don't think the bargaining can be open-ended, and in that sense if the province of Quebec comes down with a series of demands and says: "On this condition we accept federalism", I would be overjoyed. But if they say "Look, our demands are the traditional ones of Quebec", and we start meeting ten of them and they say that there is another indefinite number left to be met, then I think it becomes a mug's game. And this is true for other provinces too.

Perhaps that has been a weaknesss in our federal-provincial negotiations in the past many years. It has been open-ended. We never put as much on the table as we did in February, 1979 in terms of limiting the federal power, and we were yet told, not only by Mr. Levesque but by Mr. Lougheed, Mr. Blakeney and many others, that that was not yet enough.

So I must say in advance that if this is the game, it won't indeed end soon, and in that sense I think the deadlines which we think are necessary won't be met. But if that is the game, then those who propose to play it will have to accept that the deadlines, like the negotiating postures, can be stretched out indefinitely and that the federal government should not be blamed for the fact that it is taking a long time.

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TRANSCRIPT OF A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT OTTAWA
JUNE 9, 1980 AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE

TRANSCRIPTION D'UNE CONFERENCE DE PRESSE TENUE A
OTTAWA LE 9 JUIN 1980 AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

LE TRES HONORABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

Il y a quatre documents devant vous et je vais faire de brefs commentaires sur chacun d'entre eux.

Sur l'ordre du jour, il y a eu un accord au début de la journée et nous avons effectivement discuté selon les items indiqués ici.

On a commencé par un examen des développements survenus depuis la conférence constitutionnelle de février '79. Ensuite, nous avons pris un document que vous avez sans doute qui s'appelle Déclaration de Principes en Faveur d'une nouvelle Constitution.

Nous ne l'avons pas examiné en très grand détail parce que les Premiers ministres ont préféré y travailler et s'y employer dans les semaines et les mois qui viennent. Alors, ce document-là peut être pris comme une position de départ par le gouvernement fédéral mais auquel pour le moment les Provinces ne se disent pas liées.

Le troisième document et le quatrième, soient un document qui s'appelle "Priorités pour

une nouvelle Constitution canadienne" et un autre qui s'appelle "Calendrier proposé par le Gouvernement du Canada, ont fait l'objet de discussions au cours de l'après-midi et nous nous sommes mis d'accord pour accepter les priorités qui sont contenues dans cette double liste sans toutefois les séparer en deux colonnes en disant que dans la période qui vient nous allons étudier d'une façon prioritaire cette liste de sujets que vous avez dans les deux colonnes commençant par la Déclaration de Principes et finissant par la Cour Suprême.

Quelques petites modifications dans l'engagement au partage que vous voyez dans la liste. Nous nous sommes mis d'accord pour dire un engagement au partage ou à la per équation parce que certains Premiers ministres préfèrent une expression à l'autre et nous avons décidé d'ajouter également à cette liste l'item pêcheries.

Finalement, dans l'échéancier ou le calendrier, nous nous sommes mis d'accord pour accepter ces dates et ces engagements. Dans le texte anglais, nous avons enlevé le mot 'continuous' à 'session' mais je vois qu'il n'apparaît pas en français, alors ça ne cause pas de problème, et sous l'item 'septembre', du '8 au 12 septembre', plutôt qu'écrire 'tirer des conclusions' nous avons écrit -- si vous me permettez le barbarisme -- 'pour finaliser une entente' sur les travaux en cours, pour décider d'une façon finale, si je peux dire.

Et voilà ce qui s'est passé. Si vous me permettez, je vais répéter ça en anglais et je répondrai volontiers aux questions.

There were four pieces of paper put in front of the Conference. One was the suggested agenda, and that was agreed to, items 1, 2, 3. We began with the review of developments since the Constitutional Conference of February, 1979. We looked at the situation in our various provinces and across Canada. Then we looked at Document No. 2, a statement of principles. And various objections were put forward against this particular statement of principles, and rather than try to rewrite it to please everybody, we agreed that it should be up to the continuing committee of ministers to work on a statement of principles, and that will be their first task.

So this document has not resulted in an agreement at this time by the First Ministers. Some had rather strong objections to various parts of it, and it was set aside.

Then, after lunch, we looked at what is called the process in the suggested agenda, and we spent all of the afternoon on that. And by "process" we mean the subjects to be given priority and, second, the timetable. And the two documents you have will be useful to you because the subjects, the priorities, are the ones appearing here on your list, except that you shouldn't consider this whole document as one which is fathered by the Conference of First Ministers. They took out the preambles and so on, and they

horned in on the list and withdrew the distinction that we put in between package for the people and package on government powers. But the items to be discussed remain the same, with two slight modifications. When you see a dedication to sharing, you would add the words "dedication to sharing and/or equalization" because, as you know, historically some premiers object to one expression but not to the other, and vice versa.

And the final modification, the item, "fisheries" was added to this list.

So these are the subjects which are to be given priority consideration in the meetings which appear in your final sheet of paper, the calendar.

The only modifications of this calendar are that you take out the word, "continuous", when you see "continuous session". They want ministers to meet, but they did not want it to be implied that they would have to meet day and night. They would be meeting over that period. Take out the word, "continuous".

Then, in the last paragraph G, where you have September 8 to 12, it is specified there that the conferences would be open.

Je n'ai peut-être pas dit ça en français et il faut, lorsque nous parlons de la conférence de septembre, il faut dire qu'il s'agira d'une conférence ouverte au public.

So it would be open conferences and then rather than "to reach conclusions", stronger words, I think, were put in, "to finalize agreements on work under way".

Therefore, the intention would be to take this list of about 12 subjects and to work them to death, as it were, so that by September 8 to 12, we could finalize agreements from these. And that was the essence of today's meeting.

Voilà, je suis prêt à répondre aux questions.

PAUL RACINE: (Radio-Canada) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous semblez dire que le 8 septembre -- vous avez pris la peine de corriger même les mots -- ce serait, en fin de compte... vous vous attendez à recevoir le 8 septembre une entente sur tous les points qui sont énumérés dans cette liste.

Est-ce que c'est bien ça que nous devons comprendre?

R. C'est ce que nous nous proposons comme objectif, oui, et ce n'est pas moi, ce sont certains Premiers ministres qui ont voulu introduire les mots 'finalize agreements'. Ce que nous aurions étudié pendant l'été, cette liste de douze sujets, il faudrait que nous en terminions l'étude et que nous soyons prêts à agir entre le 8 et le 12 septembre.

Q. Une sous-question.

Cette liste, je comprends, est un mélange des listes qui ont été publiées en février dernier et comprennent à peu près les principaux sujets des discussions sur la Constitution depuis des années et des années.

Est-ce que vous êtes en train de nous dire que vous pensez que d'ici le mois de septembre le Canada aura une nouvelle Constitution?

R. Eh bien, je ne suis pas prophète mais certainement que si les mots ont un sens, les Premiers ministres se sont engagés à étudier tous ces sujets et à en arriver à une conclusion, finaliser les ententes -- pour répéter ce barbarisme -- sur ces sujets-là.

Ca ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y aura pas d'autres choses à étudier après. C'est pourquoi la feuille que je vous ai donnée dit 'mettre en cours un nouveau programme de travail. C'est notre programme de travail pour jusqu'au mois de septembre. Ce ne sera pas l'ensemble d'une nouvelle Constitution, il y a un tas d'autres choses qui n'apparaissent pas là-dedans et qui intéressent soit les Provinces soit le gouvernement fédéral, mais certainement que sur ces choses-là nous voulons faire un progrès fort rapide et concluant.

PAUL LONGPRE: (La Presse)
Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans votre Déclaration de Principes en Faveur d'une nouvelle Constitution, vous faites un préambule: "Nous, le peuple du Canada..."

Est-ce à dire que vous retournez à la conception du temps de Monsieur Diefenbaker "One Canada, One Nation"?

R. Je ne sais pas pourquoi vous l'attribuez à Monsieur Diefenbaker. J'ai toujours pensé qu'il devait y avoir un Canada et un peuple canadien, oui.

Q. Si vous me permettez une sous-question...

Je veux dire par là: est-ce que vous entendez dans ce préambule éliminer le fait qu'il y ait au Canada deux entités, deux collectivités nationales, l'une francophone, l'autre anglophone?

Je voudrais que vous vous expliquiez là-dessus.

R. Eh bien, vous pouvez lire le texte lui-même qui précise, je pense, une réponse à votre question: "...issus de la rencontre du fait français et du fait anglais en terre d'Amérique..."

Q. Je vous ferai remarquer que 'issus' est au pluriel alors qu'il y a '...le peuple du Canada...' au singulier.

R. Eh bien, 'issus' c'est nous avons voulu vivre, nous, le peuple du Canada sommes issus de la rencontre. Nous étant la première personne du pluriel qualifié par peuple du Canada qui est un substantif collectif, c'est pour ça qu'il y a un pluriel!

STUART LANGFORD, CBC-TV: Perhaps we could leave grammar and go back to a little of the history of today. Could you tell us why -- perhaps giving some concrete examples -- this statement of principles --it looks like the sort of thing that school children should be saluting every morning-- why was this not acceptable to some of the premiers and which premiers objected to which parts?

A. Well, the rules we set at the beginning of the day, because there had been some indication that some or everybody would be spilling the beans and say everything that went on, the rules that we accepted was that each First Minister would state his position, but that he would not attribute any particular position to any other premier; and if I am going to respect those rules, I have to tell you that there was general disagreement by several premiers with this particular statement of principles. I couldn't, without breaking my word, be more precise than that. But, you know, I am sure they will all tell you, and some of them have said they would go back home and explain why this was absolutely insufferable. Maybe Mr. Longpré could tell you why he thinks some people might find it insufferable.

STUART LANGFORD: Perhaps I could ask you then: Does it represent a movement on your part? There has been some talk that this represents a softening of your position, for instance, on language rights as set forth in Sections 13-20 of Bill C-60. Does that, in fact, represent a softening? Does it represent a movement?

A. The statement of principles?

STUART LANGFORD: The statement on language rights in the statement of principles.

A. If I have become softer, I welcome the information, but I am not consciously aware that I have tried to water down any feeling on my part that we must understand that Canada will work well only if we accept the notion of two official languages and of many cultures, and that is the intention here.

PETER DESBARATS, GLOBAL: Mr. Prime Minister, I am still trying to figure out whether what we are reporting on today is the beginning of an outstanding success or a monumental failure. When you went into the meeting this morning, you said that you hoped for some sort of statement of fundamental principles on Confederation. I gather from the statement that we have now received you weren't able to get support for that. Do you regard that as being a serious setback?

A. I don't regard it as a setback because the premiers have not said we cannot agree on basic principles. On the contrary, they have agreed that by September we would be working on a statement of principles. I think they took exception to the fact that the federal government had drafted one and sent it to them because, at one point, I read the statement of principles or a preamble which had been written by the Government of Ontario in 1975, which is about 15 lines and which is rather poetic; and they said, "Aha, well this is rather nicer". So there is obviously an undertaking on the part of all of us to look for some common principles on which we can say that Canada is founded, but they didn't particularly want to accept the word and text of these. Now, is it a monumental success or a monumental failure? I understand your puzzlement, and I couldn't

give you an answer. I think none of us will know the answer until September;or before if it, you know, breaks up in shambles at these various meetings. But I think we would all be cautious to accept the fact that the First Ministers have given themselves deadlines to sort out all these very important aspects of the Constitution and, as I hope, report some very large measure of agreement; but, beyond that -- until then, I should say, we won't know if it's a monumental success or a monumental failure.

If it's a success, then we'll all be heroes, and if it's -- or perhaps we won't because some of you will be writing, "Oh, well, so what; all they've agreed on is the monarchy and the Senate and the Supreme Court and so on." But anyhow, in our own minds, we'll be heroes, and if we'don't find any large measure of agreement on it, then I think it will be a failure indeed, and I think it will have very serious consequences for the rest -- la suite de l'histoire -- the rest of the story.

PETER DESBARATS: If I could just rephrase a question that was asked in French. If, in September, you do finalize agreement, to use the phraseology, on these 11 or 12 points, then that is our new Constitution at that point.

A. It would seem to me that it's gone a long way towards a new Constitution, but the final words of this calendar indicate we will put in train a further work program because many important things are contained in the first part of the work program, but there are many other things which would still have to be dealt with. Let me

just give an example. You don't see in here anything, for instance, on the Canadian common market except in a general way under "Powers affecting the economy" -- perhaps that's not a good example. You don't see anything on ---

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Amending formula.

A. Yes, that's right, an amending formula, for instance, and there has to be further work on that. You don't see anything on, shall we say, social policy which at one time was a very important area of contention. You know, who pays the family allowance and so on? It's very possible that that will still be a point. I am certain that there will be other subjects added to this list. But I think we've taken those items which are the most important and most difficult, with some exceptions. I think amending formula is also very important. But we didn't attempt to deal with everything in this first tranche.

CHARLES LYNCH, SOUTHAM: Mr. Trudeau, despite the barriers that were erected against it today, you seem to have accepted the principle of an open meeting for September, for your next summit meeting.

A. We had you in mind.

CHARLES LYNCH: Thank you. On the other hand, you tell us that the real work on this and the compromises and all the arguments pro and con are going to take place at meetings of officials, which will deliver a package to you for your summit, which will either be a success or a failure, will those meetings of ministers and officials be closed, or will we have any access to them or will we have to, in the words of your own press release on Friday

try to scrum them each day during this three weeks of intensive work?

A. We honestly didn't discuss it. I am sure that they will decide what rules they will want to follow, and they will choose whatever rules are most conducive to progress. I think you yourself would be extraordinarily happy if in September we came up with a brand new Constitution satisfying all 11 First Ministers plus the Indians and the people of the Territories,to boot, and you would applaud that even thought you hadn't been informed on an hourly basis of the tenor of the discussions. You're such a great Canadian that it's the results that would impress you rather than---

CHARLES LYNCH: If they don't, suppose the failure comes with the ministers and officials, how will we account for that if the meetings are closed?

A. Well, I think the test will be between September 8 and 12. If the reports to us, which will obviously be made public, are then commented on and accepted or rejected by us, then I think you will be able to apportion blame or plaudits. I think that is certainly from everyone's point of view -- I won't be meeting during the summer either and I won't be asking an hourly report from my ministers or my officials. I'll be trusting them on a week-to-week basis. The important thing for me is that they deliver in September a nice package which everyone is content to live with and which would be going a long way towards a new Canadian Constitution.

DOUG SMALL: Mr. Prime Minister, if in September at the First Ministers' Conference you do finalize an agreement on the basis of a new Constitution, will you consider your work in public life finished and step down as Prime Minister and Liberal leader or do you plan to stay on this train until it gets to some station a little farther down the track?

A. As they say in the rules of the House, that's a hypothetical question. If we do reach agreement on all these things, I would be very, very anxious to retire soon. That might be an incentive to a lot of people.

MARK PHILLIPS, CBC-TV: You say that there was an agreement between the First Ministers not to discuss other positions taken and other statements made. It has become known in the course of today, and indeed since last Friday, that the reaction of the Quebec delegation, particularly to the statement of principles, centred around the phrase that Mr. Langpré brought up, the objection to the people of Canada and an objection to the "where numbers warrant" phrase in the language of education clause. Can you say whether or not you are prepared to move on either of those two issues, or whether you're intent on staying with the concept in the first of the principles of a people of Canada rather than (inaudible)

A. No. Dealing with your preliminary point, you are quite right. Mr. Lévesque -- if you haven't seen it, I am sure you will -- has a long statement on our principles, and therefore it's not breaking any confidence to ascribe certain thoughts to him. Has this been distributed yet? Have any of you seen this long statement? Well, thank you for your honesty. In that sense, I don't think I am

free to comment. But he gave us a very long statement where he spelled out his objections to this statement of principles. I haven't read it attentively because he just handed it out during the meeting, but as far as I saw, I can't recall seeing anything about "where numbers warrant" being qualified. I should be very surprised if that were the position of the Government of Quebec, that they attach it to numbers. Their position is that education is a sacred provincial right and we will not give up to any declaration of language rights, we shall not give up our provincial jurisdiction so that the Supreme Court would be able to decide whether we should teach French, English or any other language. I think that will be their position. But it wasn't raised today. I don't think I'm being very indiscreet in saying that.

And the other point: The people of Canada, everyone that has followed these debates knows that there are many houses on the road to a new Constitution. One of them is special status; another is two nations; another is sovereignty association; another is federalism, and so on. I am afraid this debate has been joined, but it hasn't been solved. People of Quebec rejected sovereignty association, but whether the expression "people of Canada" would be acceptable, or if Canadians preferred, as one political party does I think in Canada, the NDP, they prefer the expression,"two nations", isn't it? I mean the NDP has written into -- did write anyhow into its founding constitution, as a party, the concept of two nations. Now, they don't use it that much any more, but it would probably be an expression which would be more acceptable to Quebec than -- not

Quebec, but more acceptable to Mr. Lévesque than the expression, "people of Canada". But it wouldn't be more acceptable to me, if I can make that aside.

MARK PHILLIPS: In your priorities page, under the paragraph that had been ruled out at least momentarily by the First Ministers, there is a suggestion that some or all of the above could be adopted. Are you prepared to accept a piece-by-piece adoption of that and to go along with that? If everything is worked out by the September meeting, why would it take four days at that time to finalize it?

A. Well, it's quite conceivable that items won't have been worked out. I would think that the past experience is that First Ministers don't always receive from the Continuing Committee of Ministers a finalized text. They receive sometimes options that have to worked at. My guess is that four days would not be enough but if it's too much, I can tell that we will adjourn after the second day and all go home and be quite happy. Look, I almost feel like telling you, it's not certain that everything will go as well as we all hope. I think Peter Desbarats is right. It might be a monumental success or a catastrophic failure. We don't know. It just depends on how much progress is made during the summer and then how it will be capped in September by the First Ministers.

COLIN VAUGHAN, CITY TV: Without attributing to a specific premier, you said that there were other strong objections to the statement of principles. Could you outline some of the other objections other than those from Premier Lévesque?

A. Well, some premiers object to the whole concept of enshrining fundamental freedoms in a Constitution. Some premiers felt that it wasn't sufficient to go back home and say, "We've agreed on the statement of principles." They had to have more than that when they went home, and they would have to say, "This is all very well, but, you know, what about these other rights that we've been asking for under the Constitution?" It's hard to give examples of those without you guessing the names, but one premier, for instance, said, "This is no good to me if I don't have jurisdiction over fisheries", and another -- guess who -- it wasn't Premier Blakeney -- said, "This is no good to me if I don't have the right of self-determination in it", and that wasn't Premier Davis, and another said, "This is no good to me unless ..." Now I'm going to do the contrary; I am going to make it look more difficult, but let me just say that you can come up with a statement of principles which is more motherhood than this, and I think that's what some premiers will be working at, which is fine with me. A nice motherhood preamble is something which would warm all our hearts. Does that answer your question?

LEN GRANT, GLOBAL: Mr. Trudeau, I suppose it's well and good to say that there is some measure of success in the procedure for getting at some of these problems, but to the same degree I think it could be argued that unless there is an indication of some willingness to modify current proposals the federal government has made, or for that matter, in fact, the provinces have made at the start, the whole process is rather doomed to failure. Could I inquire, first, whether in respect of the question of ownership of resources, you feel

this is going to be a matter that is going to be settled as a process of bargaining? Is the federal government going to be going to these meetings coming along in the next month or so offering something in return for something from the provinces, or is there some broad statement of principle you could make right now to the effect that the federal government respects the current BNA principle that the resources belong to the provinces?

A. Well, I told the premiers,and I tell you, that I'm prepared to go a long way on many of these subjects whether it be resource ownership or offshore resources or communications, family law, whatever. But I hope the provinces will be able to go a long way towards giving the federal government certain rights concerning the preservation and maintenance of the Canadian common market, if I can use that minimum phrase. You know, in Canada there are obstacles -- provincial governments have created obstacles to the free movement of peoples, of capital, of services, of goods throughout the Canadian common market. Mr. Peckford, for example, complains that he can't move his electricity through Quebec without Quebec's fiat and so on. And whether the Constitution would permit us to do it now or not, I suppose is arguable in court, but I would like to see a new Canadian Constitution affirm the fact that we are one sovereign country from an economic point of view. To repeat an expression which wrought some wrath on Mr. Lalonde's head, I think it would be of little avail if we save the country from political separation and ended up in economic separation one from the other. And there are, as you know now, a lot of non-tariff barriers to the movement of goods between provinces, and these are things which I would hope

would have to be solved in the same spirit of give and take that I'm prepared to have when it comes to trying to meet some of the provincial concern. But the reason why we made these two columns is that I find it somewhat offensive that we try to barter our various exigencies or demands as federal or provincial governments in exchange for something which is going to benefit the people in general, and that's why we have a package for the people. Certainly if we patriate the Constitution, it doesn't give any more power to the provincial or to the federal governments. It is something that hopefully the people can say, "Well, at least they've moved on that," and that's why you can call it a package for the people or you can call it building blocks on which the Constitution of Canada should be founded. I mean all these things in our statement of principles -- there's nothing in there for the federal government per se or anything for the provincial governments per se. It is an attempt to say,"Well, what are the basic values and notions on which all Canadians agree?" And I would hope that in the course of the summer there would not be a bargaining of things for the people against rights for levels of government. Am I clear? But when governments argue with each other as to who should have jurisdiction over the offshore, this is in a sense a quarrel between politicians. The federal government and the provincial government is saying, "Well, I should be able to make the laws there." And it's the stuff of which federations are made. How will the jurisdiction be shared? But I would hope that on things which are not going to give more power to the federal government or to the provinces, that we would be able to say, "Okay, let's at least do these. Let's at least patriate the Constitution. Let's

at least recognize if not the duality of Canada, at least the fact that there are two vast linguistic communities. Let's recognize that certain political rights that the citizen has like the obligation to have elections every five years as a maximum, the obligation to meet Parliament or legislatures every 12 months. These are not giving the federal government more power; these are taking power away from all of us and giving it to the people, and my hope is that there will be a minimum of bargaining on this, that we will hopefully say, "Okay, you know, much as I am concerned about resources or the offshore or fisheries or the Canadian common market, and much as I want to increase my powers over those things,"yet I have to say, "Some things are not for me as a premier or as a prime minister; some of them are for the people," and let's agree on these. You know, like what we say on the many cultures and on our native peoples and so on. These are for people; they're not for governments. And that's why I think this distinction is valid, but I am reporting that it is not one that the premiers at this stage wanted to accept. They want to discuss the whole thing together. If we can make progress on the whole thing together, that is fine and dandy. But if we can't, I would hope that we would at least make progress on the building blocks of Canada and then continue our arguments on jurisdictions,on what government should do what. Is that clear or do I have a supplementary on that?

GILBERT LAVOIE: (La Presse) Q. Monsieur Trudeau, on est le 12 septembre, la date... la dernière date qu'on a là-dedans?

Pour bien officialiser votre réponse donnée en anglais à Doug Small, j'aimerais vous l'entendre répéter en français: si c'est un succès, vous songez, c'est une tentation pour vous de vous retirer de la vie politique, ça c'est une première question, mais la deuxième question est celle-ci: si c'est un échec, si le 12 septembre au soir il n'y a pas entente sur les deux points vraiment essentiels -- vous avez dit que tout est négociable sauf la charte sur les droits linguistiques -- et également si c'est un échec sur le rapatriement de la Constitution, qu'est-ce qui se passe?

R. Eh bien, j'aurais préféré qu'on arrête la conférence de presse avant cette question parce que c'est la plus difficile et sans doute la plus importante.

Si c'est un échec, autrement dit si on n'a pas fait de progrès sensibles sur au moins une partie importante de ce paquet-là... de cette liste-là, je pense quant à moi -- pour employer les mots de Desbarats -- qu'on court au désastre parce que nous nous sommes engagés tous à renouveler le fédéralisme et à le faire dans un délai relativement rapide. Quand je dis 'tous', sauf erreur, tous les autres Premiers ministres des autres provinces que

le Québec et moi-même avons dit que si le peuple du Québec votait non au référendum, nous nous engagions à vraiment débloquer le processus constitutionnel et à renouveler le fédéralisme, et je ne pense pas qu'on puisse oublier cet engagement solennel. C'est pourquoi je crois que nous nous sommes tous engagés à accepter un échéancier aussi serré et j'espère que nous sommes tous optimistes sur la possibilité de rencontrer nos obligations, mais si nous ne le faisons pas, je répète, je pense que beaucoup de gens, à commencer par Monsieur René Lévesque, seront autorisés à dire "Je vous l'avais ben dit! Ils se sont engagés avant le vote au référendum à bouger beaucoup mais ça n'a pas beaucoup bougé", dans votre hypothèse.

Alors, moi, je pense que les conséquences politiques peuvent être assez graves. Vous êtes à même de spéculer là-dessus autant que moi.

Je pense que moi, personnellement, je devrai envisager d'autres manières de bouger. Qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire pour au moins commencer à bouger quelques-uns d'entre nous si nous ne pouvons pas bouger tous les onze ensemble? Et ça c'est une hypothèse qu'il faut envisager aussi parce que sur les langues, il y a un certain nombre de Premiers ministres provinciaux qui sont prêts à bouger. Moi, je préférerais que tous bougent mais si ce n'est pas le cas, il faudra envisager d'autres façons d'agir et, encore que j'aurais préféré ne pas avoir la

question parce que j'aurais préféré que la conférence de presse se termine sur une note d'optimisme, il faut envisager la possibilité que ça ne marche pas et, alors, moi, je le répète, je considérerai ça comme un échec d'une conséquence extrêmement grave pour le pays et je devrai aviser en conséquence.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE CONFERENCE CENTER, FOLLOWING THE CLOSING OF THE FIRT MINISTERS CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 13, 1980.

TRANCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A LA SUITE DE LA CONCLUSION DE LA CONFERENCE DES PREMIERS MINISTRES, LE 13 SEPTEMBRE 1980

JOHN FERGUSON, CP: Prime Minister, you alluded in your closing remarks to announcing specific actionsto Parliament. Could you tell us what you have in your own mind now what would be in that package and whether you are still sticking with the view to include the Charter of Rights, whether that Charter of Rights would apply to the provinces?

PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid I can't answer that until I have discussed it with my caucus and my cabinet as to what the view of the Government of Canada should be on this conference.

Q. Does that mean, sir, that you have forced to re-think what you have told us before what you plan to do. Now, as a result of this conference, something that has happened here has caused you to re-think it?

PRIME MINISTER: I don't re-thinking is the right expression. We are thinking all the time. As events develop, we try to interpret them and we try to find solutions to problems as they develop.

There is no re-thinking. Those of you who are under the illusion that there is some kind of a blue-print for action or scenario that is set in stone and cannot be changed are obviously wrong, and are deluding themselves.

DOUG SMALL (Global Television): Do you still want a renewed constitution by the end of the year?
by July 1 next year, do you want it to have an entrenched Bill of Rights, and if you succeed in getting these things, how soon after that will you quit?

PRIME MINISTER: Of course I want these things. I have been saying that all week. I am disappointed that I haven't been able to persuade more premiers of my point of view.

DOUG SMALL: Does it make any difference now that the do not agree? Does it make any difference to you now?

PRIME MINISTER: It doesn't make any difference to my continuing to want them. It certainly makes a difference with the possibility of having them, doesn't it?

DOUG SMALL: Yes, but you are going to proceed by yourself now. That is the implication we got from your final remarks.

PRIME MINISTER: I don't know how you got that implication. I just said that I would meet my colleagues in caucus and in cabinet and decide on a course of action which I would have to announce to Parliament, which I will do.

FRANCOIS PERREAULT, R.-C.: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans votre conclusion tout-à-l'heure vous avez encore par opposition émis la libre association du peuple par rapport à la libre association des provinces et enfin que c'étaient deux conceptions différentes du Canada.

Est-ce que ça veut dire qu'au nom de cette libre association du peuple, des Canadiens, que vous songeriez peut-être à aller en référendum, par exemple, puisque deux provinces s'opposent au rapatriement?

R. Je n'y songe pas pour le moment mais vous savez, nous l'avons dit, cette éventualité n'a jamais été écartée. J'ai même proposé une loi au Parlement il y a déjà un an et demi à l'effet que nous puissions en appeler au peuple quand, après des années de discussions, les politiciens ne peuvent pas s'entendre entre eux et, je le répète, c'est ce qui me paraissait être la faiblesse de la procédure actuelle. Depuis 1927, on veut faire une chose très simple, de rapatrier la Constitution, et il se trouve toujours une province, un Premier ministre qui n'est pas d'accord avec le reste et qui empêche tout mouvement dans une chose aussi fondamentale.

Alors, j'ai suggéré qu'on puisse à un moment donné, lorsqu'il y a échec et mate entre les politiciens, lorsqu'on s'est mis dans cul-de-sac, que nous puissions demander à la population, et ça ne me paraît

pas une idée ni originale, ni scandaleuse. Puisqu'on peut demander au Québec s'ils veulent cesser de faire partie du Canada, il me semble qu'on pourrait demander aux Canadiens s'ils veulent bien avoir une Constitution à eux.

Q. Peut-être pour compléter, est-ce que cela veut dire d'après vous que le fait que deux provinces s'opposent au rapatriement ça puisse vous empêcher de rapatrier la Constitution?

R. Eh bien, c'était la pratique jusqu'à maintenant.

Q. Ca peut changer.

R. Bien, ce que j'ai suggéré ce matin, c'est qu'il fallait qu'on cherche des moyens de sortir de la boîte, et c'est ce que je vais discuter avec mes collègues.

MICHAEL VALPY, VANC. SUN: Prime Minister, I wonder if you would make clear again for me just what you did say on the amending formula. Do I understand correctly that you said if there had been a package of some kind, and the amending formula was part of it -- the Alberta formula -- you would have accepted it. Is that correct?

PRIME MINISTER: Yes.

MICHAEL VALPY Sir, it seems to me that is only a small stumble. There is no package, but there is an amending formula which you don't find completely unacceptable, and which you could have accepted which would, in turn, have opened the door to bringing the constitution back.

PRIME MINISTER: You know how discussions proceed. On Wednesday night and then all day yesterday, when we were among ourselves, several premiers said that. This particular amending formula they don't like. But if that was the only thing--

MICHAEL VALPY: They have now agreed on it.

PRIME MINISTER: They don't agree on it. They say that if there is a total package, they will accept that particular amending formula. I have said the same thing.

MICHAEL VALPY: It is not correct then for us to take from, as Premier Lyon said, "Well, here are ten provinces agreeing on an amending formula, and we can't look at that in isolation."

PRIME MINISTER: What is the last?

We cannot look..?

MICHAEL VALPY: We cannot look at that statement in isolation. Okay, we do have ten provinces agreed on an amending formula.

PRIME MINISTER: No. Because here are eleven governments agreeing on an amending formula, but all are doing it conditionally.

For instance, to be very clear, Premier Peckford wouldn't agree on an amending formula unless he got the offshore. I wouldn't agree on an amending formula unless we got protection of basic rights. So everyone was agreeing on a lot of things, but it was conditional on the package moving.

And let me disillusion you on one thing, because I am told there is a notion going around that when the premiers came to me yesterday morning, they came forth with a compromise package. I am sorry I didn't even bother to deny that impression when I talked a moment ago. I didn't know it was going around. They didn't come to me with a compromise package. They came to me and laid on the table exactly what they had been talking about all week, with one exception, that they were going back to the February, 1979, draft on resources. So there is no compromise which arose from that First Ministers breakfast at the Chateau Laurier on Friday morning. What they came with was a bland statement that here are the eight powers we want you to give up

or diminish and give them up to our benefit, and here is what we will do on a Bill of Rights -- zilch, in terms of the collective agreement. Here is what we will do on language -- zilch. Individually you talk to them and they are prepared to move some things somewhere in some areas, as we are too. But when they come with a whole package and say: "Okay, what is your answer?" Well, the answer is "let's discuss it."

Family law - sure. Let's put that in the constitution tomorrow. If we had an amending formula it could be in. Equalization - sure. Let's put it in. That is what I said on Friday morning. The Supreme Court - sure. I don't think it is a great shake, and you don't agree among yourselves, but if you do, sure, let's put it in. Family law, you don't agree among yourselves. Manitoba is in disagreement. Look at the record of the sub-committee on that subject which was circulated, and I am sure is in your hands. But, sure, we agree to that. Put it in. Even the Upper House, I agreed to put in there the notion that the regions should be represented - or the provinces should be represented -- in some way in the Upper House, and I said so publicly during the conference. Some of them this morning said that they also disagreed with the notion that there should be a Council of Provinces which would be able to veto our legislation without us even having a right to vote.

That was part of the package Friday morning.

And if I didn't say yes to that, they wouldn't say yes to anything else. What kind of a compromise is that?

The meetings yesterday morning could just as easily have taken place in public, because there was no give and take. It was a re-statement by the provinces of their views. That is how the meeting began. I said, well, if that is your view, I will re-state my views.

DAVID HALTON, CBC TV: Prime Minister, a number of the first ministers were saying this morning that while they agreed that this conference has been a failure, it has at least been a magnificent education process for the Canadian public.
I wonder if you agree that perhaps agreement could have been reached more easily if there weren't closed sessions in which the first ministers obviously, to a degree, boxed themselves into corners from which it was difficult to retreat?

PRIME MINISTER: I don't think I could suggest that this week's proceedings would have been successful if there had been more closed sessions. Is that what you are suggesting? You are not pleading for them; you are just suggesting.

DAVID HALTON: Of course.

PRIME MINISTER: I think in honesty I have to say that it wouldn't have been any different. I was just indicating to the previous questioner that we didn't say anything different in private than we did in public.

I don't know what their great breakfast was all about, except to solidify the determination that they had, that they would all hang together. And if you scratch my back, I will scratch yours, but if you don't scratch my back, I will scratch your face. Tell me what great interest Saskatchewan has in the offshore resources and the offshore fisheries. And tell me about Premier Bennett's plea this morning that poor Newfoundland they should get the ownership of their resources. We are prepared to give them 100 per cent of the revenue; but they should get the ownership of the resources.

He wasn't thinking about his offshore. He was just concerned with Newfoundland. It is easy, as I pointed out, to put a bargain together where each province grabs what it wants, and says, "okay, let's all grab it together, and if you support me on this, I will support you on that", which is what they did. That is not bargaining. That is an ultimatum given to the federal government to give in to the provincial demands for more power. I told them quite clearly, that I cannot do.

PAUL RACINE, Radio-Canada: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous avez dit que de toute façon, s'il y avait un échec à cette conférence, ça n'en resterait pas là mais que vous aviez le choix entre différentes options: vous pouvez vous contenter de rapatrier un paquet minimum, comme il était dit dans votre document, ce qui ne touche que le gouvernement fédéral, ou, si vous voulez par exemple appliquer la charte des droits, peut-être imposer certaines choses aux provinces.

Lequel des deux chemins vous paraît préférable et est-ce que vous pouvez imposer des choses aux provinces sans auparavant -- je reprends une question qui a été posée -- avoir une certaine forme de consultation populaire?

R. Ecoutez! Ca fait quoi? Onze ans à peu près que je suis en conférences fédérales-provinciales et que je réponds à ce genre de questions? Je n'ai jamais imposé quoi que ce soit aux provinces.

On a toujours parlé d'ultimatum, et caetera. Il y a eu des accords; il y a eu celui de Victoria où dix contre un nous étions d'accord; il y a eu d'autres réunions plus ou moins publiques en '75... '76 où il y a eu des presqu'accords. Je n'ai jamais imposé quoi que ce soit à personne mais je pense que ce dont il faut commencer à se rendre compte c'est que le Canada -- je le répète -- est un des pays les plus décentralisés du monde.

Quand on entend constamment que les provinces, elles aussi, ont le droit de vivre, mon Dieu Monsieur Lévesque, Monsieur Blakeney le disaient, il y a une sorte de 'bargain' de la Confédération. C'est pour ça que les provinces ont tellement de pouvoirs. Ce n'est pas quelque chose de nouveau; ce n'est pas l'Ecosse et le pays de Galles ou la Bretagne ou le pays basque qui demandent de Madrid ou de Paris plus de pouvoirs, les provinces ont énormément de pouvoirs. Elles sont souveraines dans l'éducation, dans le droit civil, dans l'administration de la justice, dans le développement de leurs ressources et tout, tout, tout le reste. Elles sont souveraines déjà.

Et déjà le fédéral dépense à peu près 40 pour cent des budgets nationaux; les provinces et les municipalités dépensent le reste. C'est le pays -- je le répète -- le plus décentralisé de la terre.

Alors, forcément, si la conférence fédérale-provinciale sur le renouvellement constitutionnel consiste uniquement à poigner encore plus de pouvoirs pour les provinces, il vient à un moment donné où il va se trouver un Premier ministre qui va dire non, pas question, faisons un échange. Vous voulez plus de pouvoirs sur le commerce inter-provincial, okay; vous voulez plus de pouvoirs sur les pêcheries, okay; vous voulez plus de pouvoirs sur les communications, d'accord, mais seriez-vous prêts, par hasard, gentiment, de reconnaître l'existence d'un marché commun canadien qui n'a pas le droit d'ériger d'une province à l'autre

des barrières tarifaires? Ah! non, ça, par exemple, on est très bien comme on est. C'était ça, un peu, la discussion de cette semaine. Alors, ne me parlez pas d'agir... Je pense que le mot arbitraire et autoritaire ont été employés ce matin. Avez-vous l'évidence que depuis douze ans j'ai enlevé ça de pouvoirs aux provinces? On parle beaucoup d'empiètement. Bien sûr! Mais ce n'est pas moi qui ai empiété sur les provinces parce qu'elles ouvrent des ambassades un peu partout dans le monde!

ANDY SZENDE, TORONTO STAR Prime Minister, do you feel that the premiers of English Canada have betrayed the people of Quebec who voted in good faith for the "No" side believing that English Canada really wanted renewal, or, did you in fact promise to Quebeckers at the Paul Sauvé arena more than you can deliver?

PRIME MINISTER: What I said is that for me the referendum vote was a choice by Quebeckers either to stay in Canada or to get out of Canada.

I undertook to tell the rest of Canada that if Quebeckers voted to stay in Canada I would go to the rest of the country and tell them that they have to live up to their side of the bargain. Admittedly the bargain wasn't spelled out in very clear terms, and admittedly Mr. Levesque's view of the bargain isn't the same as my view of the bargain. They are two different conceptions of Canada. But I feel that the bargain of confederation, to use Premier Blakeney's phrase is that French speaking Canadians can move and live and work anywhere in Canada and still be able to send their kids to French schools and still be able to deal with their federal government in their language no matter where they live. That is the way I see the bargain. That is the bargain I said I would put to the other premiers and see if they were able to live up to it. That is what I did.

I have heard at least from two, and perhaps three,

that they were willing to go along with that.

The others were not willing to go along with it?

PRIME MINISTER: Yes, the others are not. We have heard, I think from Angus MacLean yesterday that perhaps some of them had made mistakes when they talked to Quebec during the referendum and had said that they would deliver renewed federalism.

It is a little bit late now to tell that to Quebeckers.

When I say either this is the beginning of the end or the end of the beginning, I really mean it.

CLAUDE TURCOTTE, LE DEVOIR: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous parlez de rapatriement. Il semble bien que vous alliez procéder avant longtemps dans ce domaine-là.

Est-ce qu'au sujet de la formule d'amendement...

R. Vous dites ça depuis dix ans, pas vous personnellement mais les médias.

Q. Non, mais enfin, les intentions, les déclarations qui ont été faites depuis plusieurs semaines tendent à nous faire croire ça maintenant mais...

R. Déclarations faites par qui?

Je ne crois pas en conscience que nous ayons fait des déclarations dans ce sens-là.

Q. Disons que vous alliez procéder au rapatriement. Vous n'avez pas parlé de Noël?

R. Unilatéralement?

Est-ce qu'on a dit ça?

Q. Bien, au lac Louise, vous avez parlé d'un rapatriement avant Noël, si je me souviens bien.

R. Est-ce que j'ai employé le mot unilatéralement?

Q. S'il n'y avait pas d'accord ici, ça devient unilatéral à ce moment-là, si vous le faites.

Enfin, la question que je voulais vous poser, c'est au sujet de la formule d'amendements. Si vous le faites, le rapatriement, quel genre d'entente prévoyez-vous au niveau de la formule d'amendements, c'est-à-dire, gardez-vous la règle de l'unanimité jusqu'au moment où on s'entendra sur la formule ou est-ce que vous allez proposer vous-même une formule même s'il n'y avait pas accord de toutes les provinces sur cette formule?

R. Pour le moment, la question est un peu hypothétique. Vous dites, si on procède avec un rapatriement et une formule d'amendements. Mais si voulez examiner les hypothèses, nous en avons mis plusieurs devant les provinces et elles-mêmes en ont proposé plusieurs. Il y a la formule de Victoria, il y a la formule Fulton-Favreau, il y a la formule dite de Toronto, il y a la formule de l'Alberta qu'on appelle maintenant la formule de Vancouver. Alors, il y a toutes sortes de formules.

Comme je le disais en réponse à une autre question, tout le monde mercredi soir a dit, bon, en fin de compte, s'il faut juste ça pour se mettre d'accord, on se mettra tous d'accord, et on était onze à le dire qu'on avait des préférences chacun pour sa formule mais, en fin de compte, on aurait accepté la formule de l'Alberta, je l'ai dit en toutes lettres tout-à-l'heure, je l'ai dit en toutes lettres aux Premiers ministres, et ils le savent. Alors, ce n'est pas

la formule qui est difficile. Moi, je trouve que la formule de Vancouver... celle de l'Alberta dite de Vancouver, je trouve qu'elle est un peu défectueuse pour la province de Québec pour les raisons que j'ai dites tout-à-l'heure.

Advenant le cas où, encore une fois, 90 pour cent des provinces incluant 90 pour cent de la population décidait, par exemple, de protéger le fait français dans les écoles dans l'ensemble du pays, la formule de l'Alberta permettrait à une province représentant peut-être un petit pourcentage de la population, trois... quatre... six, de dire, ah! bien non, pas nous autres, et de se retirer de cet amendement constitutionnel.

Enfin, ce ne sont pas des exemples purement théoriques mais quand on examine une formule d'amendements, c'est important de considérer ça. Je comprends que le gouvernement actuel n'est pas très préoccupé par le sort des minorités dans les autres provinces mais nous le sommes et c'est pour ça que cette sorte de formule-là nous ne l'aimions pas beaucoup.

Regardez la formule de l'Alberta et regardez la mathématique qu'on y présente et vous verrez que ça peut arriver. Pour les droits du français, ça peut arriver et pour autre chose, la protection des droits civils.

Alors, il me semble que quand on vit dans un pays, il faudrait à un moment donné pouvoir

dire, eh bien, lorsqu'il y a un concensus qui rassemble 99½% pour cent des gens... 99½% des provinces, à un moment donné c'est une majorité assez forte pour que tous se disent, bon, c'est ça que le pays dit, (inaudible) , on est spéciaux, et je ne m'adresse pas, encore une fois, au Québec parce que le Québec était de toute façon protégé quant à lui, Québec contient quoi... un quart de la population.

JEFF SIMPSON, Globe & Mail:Prime Minister, I would like to ask you a question about a subject that has been debated by the politicians this summer and by a number of academic experts, and raised at this conference again.

Given your experience in constitutional law, do you think that the federal government has the power to bind the provinces without their consent to a Charter of Rights?

PRIME MINISTER: If it has the power? That really is a legal question. I know that lawyers are divided on that. I am not teaching constitutional law anymore, so I don't think I will give you a lecture on that subject.

PETER LLOYD: CTV Prime Minister, this conference seems to have broken up in a great deal of bitterness, and one wonders if, in fact, we weren't closer to some agreement say 18 months ago than we are now.

I wonder if you feel the atmosphere has been poisoned for a good long time for further negotiation; if you agree we were closer 18 months ago; and have you ever felt as angry as you appear to be at the end of one of these meetings?

PRIME MINISTER: I think we were in appearance closer 18 months ago in the sense that the federal government was giving up more then than it has been prepared to give up this week.

For instance, on resources, we had permitted

even the provinces to enter the field of international trade and commerce. During the week there has been some nostalgia expressed by the premiers -- you know, you are not even giving as much as you gave up then. But I think I learned a lesson then. I went very far, perhaps too far, in giving up federal powers. And still the provinces didn't say, "well, okay, with that we will agree to patriate the constitution." I wasn't asking for a Charter of Rights then. If my memory is correct, I wasn't even asking for language rights in February, 1979. I don't think that was on the first -- even on the second list -- but certainly not on the first. And we went very far in the area, I repeat, of international trade and interprovincial trade. We were ready to limit the disallowance power and we were ready to limit the spending power. All kinds of things. The provinces didn't say, "well, that is something of a package, let's patriate the constitution and put it all in and then try and get more from you next year, or from another prime minister." And, in fact, the other prime minister came along, and he gave them the lotteries. He gave them the offshore. He promised to Quebec, to Ontario and to Manitoba the Hudson's Bay; of course to British Columbia the offshore too. Did he get any thank yous? No. Did Premier Peckford say: "Oh, that is great"? No. He said: "What about the fisheries? Give me the offshore, but I want the fisheries too." Did he get any thanks from Alberta when he

tried to negotiate an energy package? We heard on the final day of their meeting -- was it in December -- from Premier Lougheed that there was no package. So I guess I grow up or grow old. And I say nothing will ever satisfy them.

For once when they are asking for these eight powers, or eight diminution of federal powers, "let's test him and ask for something in exchange"- a strengthening of the economic union; not greater federal powers; but an assertion that the common market in Canada cannot be disrupted by arbitrary barriers set up by provinces. With all the exceptions needed and which were provided for in the text to permit regional economies to develop and local unemployment to be taken care of. They have these problems in the Common Market. They find texts and ways of solving them. But, what did we hear all day/ when we were saying, in exchange for all these powers, let's strengthen the Canadian market, we heard: Well, that is something you don't put in the constitution. "Our powers, our provincial powers, we want to see in the constitution." But when it comes to guaranteeing the rights of freedom of speech and so on, you don't have to put that in the constitution. Everybody knows nothing is going to happen to freedom of speech.

I say that is a reactionary attitude. But, more, I say that I have learned my lesson. You don't get agreement by giving in to the provinces. Maybe I showed that to my shame in February, 1979; and Mr. Clark showed it, I think, to his shame in

the months during which he was prime minister.

BOB LEWIS, MACLEANS: Mr. Prime Minister, you have indicated that your private sessions yesterday were basically a re-hash of what we saw in public.

I am wondering if you can give us any indications of the tone and the scene there? I ask this because from talking to premiers away from that table, you get the feeling that they see it not only as a difference in approaches to the kind of Canada they would like to see, but also a matter of difference between you and them, having to do with personal background, lifestyle and that. Is that a relevant factor in these talks, and did it manifest itself in any way?

PRIME MINISTER: I didn't sense that there was any difference in lifestyle, except that they drank more coffee than I did and smoked more cigars. But I don't know what a questio on lifestyle really means.

I am elected to speak for the Government of Canada. They are elected to speak for the governments of the provinces. One should be surprised that we all think that we can do a better job than the other person. That is why we are in politics. But the discussion didn't bear, as far as I was aware, on lifestyles and characters. We heard in private yesterday not only the same lists of demands and ultimatum, if you want, by the provinces that you would give us all these powers and then we will consider

bringing back the constitution. But we heard also the same kind of speeches we heard this morning. I am very glad that we had these private meetings because it was all rehearsed. When we heard three premiers at least, maybe a few others, say, "well, look, we reached a unanimous agreement at breakfast. Therefore you must give us what we ask." I heard the argument too that Quebec, Manitoba and Ontario had carved up Hudson's Bay some years ago and, therefore, it should be theirs. We heard that view also from the present premier of Newfoundland. What he says is his, is his, if he can get nine other premiers to say it is his. But that "ain't" what the constitution says. If he wants to change it, it takes more than just nine, ten premiers as I say scratching each other's back.

PATRICK NAGLE, Vanc. Sun: Sir, in your closing remarks, you said that you were going to take to the Canadian people a course of action as soon as possible.

How soon is that please, sir?

PRIME MINISTER: I am meeting my caucus on Wednesday and my cabinet on Thursday. We will decide on whether it should be done on the first day of the recall of Parliament or during the first week or during the first month, or whatever.

PATRICK NAGLE: Would the recall of Parliament be September 29, sir, under these circumstances?

PRIME MINISTER: So far as I know, there is

no intention to recall Parliament on September 29. I know that was written in a book that some officials put together, but as Chretien, Roberts and I have been telling you, the strategy is in our minds, it is not on paper. I can repeat, I know of no intention to get Parliament back on September 29.

PATRICK NAGEL: Thank you, sir.

PRIME MINISTER: It may happen, but it would be pure coincidence.

GAYLE MORRIS, CFCF-TV: Prime Minister, after what might be described as the national consciousness raising during this past week, you say now that the lack of agreement is founded on two very difference philosophies of Canada. You reject outright that Canada is merely the sum of its parts and, in effect, that the common will among the ten provinces is not necessarily the common good.

Can you describe what your concept is of the common good for Canada; what is the common thread that runs throughout our stream?

PRIME MINISTER: You noted that distinction, and I did too. I am glad you bring it up, because the point was made toward the end by one of the premiers, that the common will could be the will of ten provincial governments.

I don't deny that ten provincial governments

can have a common will, and that that will can have very great significance for Canada. But I wasn't talking of a common will of theirs or of mine. I was talking of the common interest, the national interest. Whether we like it or not, and I know it sounds in some way to smack of confrontation, but when there is a conflict between regional interests or provincial interests and national interests, the latter, I say, must prevail. I say that because that is what the Fathers of Confederation said. That is what the power of reservation and disallowance meant. That is what the declaratory power meant.

We can change that. Obviously a lot of the premiers are attempting to change that, that the national interest must not necessarily prevail over the provincial interest. But I suggest that that is a very dangerous course to set Canada on. I repeat, there has been very little inclination on the part of federal governments in my time or before my time. You can go back a generation or two to sort of disallow provincial laws or to use the declaratory power to invalidate some of their operations and so on. But I don't think that we can conceive of a constitution where there would be "a" Canada if the exercise of the federal powers given to it by the constitution in many important areas is subject to a veto by a Council of Provinces where the federal government doesn't even have a right to vote. And that is what they proposed to me on Friday morning.

I said, well, this is clearly a concept of Canada of ten provincial governments. I wouldn't mind if we talked about provinces. That is why I like the idea of a referendum. At some point, let's ask the people. But ten provincial governments can meet together and disallow some federal law or policy. By what majority and by what right? I can't see that. But that is what they would propose.

MARK PHILLIPS Very briefly, Prime Minister, do you still stick to the deadline which you mentioned, I believe, at the cabinet meeting out west of the end of the year for patriation? Is that still an active deadline in your mind?

PRIME MINISTER: That is still my desire. I would have hoped it would happen before that. But, as I answered to an earlier question -- I believe Mr. Small's -- my wishes and desires haven't changed since 1968 anyhow. What I can do about them now is something I will have to discuss with my colleagues.

MARK PHILLIPS: Does that mean, as you were asked at the time out west as well, that whether you get agreement or not, through whatever process you conclude to proceed with from here that by the end of the year you will go ahead and do it one way or the other?

PRIME MINISTER: When you asked me that in Lake Louise, I was still hoping -- as we all were, and Mr.

Chretien was even taking pretty good odds -- that we would have an agreement. I don't know if I spoiled it for him. I just think he was perhaps naive in his estimation of the appetites of the provinces. But at that time I was talking December because I was really hoping for an agreement.

Thank you, sir.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OCTOBER 2, 1980

Governm. Publ...

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE LE 2 OCTOBRE 1980

MICHAEL VALPY - VANCOUVER SUN:

Prime Minister, you have chosen a route on minority language education rights that will bring you into confrontation with the provincial governments which, as you know, sir, would have preferred to deal with the issue by statute or by regulation rather than to submit to any federal intrusion into provincial jurisdiction of education.

My question to you is: I wonder if you had felt it might have been more politically tactful to deal with language rights by means of an "opt-out, opt-in" formula of some kind which would have allowed public opinion in the provinces to shape a consensus rather than: (1) set the precedent of intruding into provincial jurisdiction; and (2) appearing to be imposing something on the provinces from above.

PRIME MINISTER:

Let me make two points. You talk of imposing. We would only be putting in the constitution what the provinces, the premiers themselves said in Montreal that they wanted to see done. I quoted their statement in Montreal in 1978.

MICHAEL VALPY:

But not by that route, sir.

PRIME MINISTER:

The first point I am making is that they wanted this to

be done. They said that it should be done, and now here is a route by which it can be done.

My second point on the notion of intrusion that you make is that the federal government has now the power over education. It is very often forgotten, but it is in Section 93, paragraphs 3 and 4 of the British North America Act. It is a duty the federal government has to protect minorities in educational matters. So this is not a new doctrine that the federal government should protect minorities. The difference of our approach with that of Section 93 is that under Section 93 the federal government would legislate and impose a law on the provinces. What we are saying now is that the provinces will make their own laws to achieve what they themselves said should be achieved in Montreal in 1978.

LUC LAVOIE, TVA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, tout au cours de l'été, et même par les années passées, lorsque vous avez parlé du rapatriement vous parliez d'un geste symbolique qui devait mettre fin au dernier lien colonial qui unissait le Canada à la mère-patrie, la Grande-Bretagne. Ce soir, vous parlez d'un pays qui serait pleinement confirmé dans son indépendance -- ce sont vos paroles, je crois.

Pourquoi avoir choisi de conserver la monarchie britannique comme symbole de l'état canadien?

R. Eh bien, parce que ce soir nous ne nous sommes pas attaqués à tous les problèmes. Je le disais, il y aura bien d'autres discussions constitutionnelles à venir, nous les souhaitons vivement. Nous avions mis, vous vous le rappelez, en octobre '78 et en février '79, la monarchie à l'ordre du jour. Qui s'y est opposé qu'on en discute? Les dix Premiers ministres, y compris Monsieur René Lévesque qui a dit, il ne faut pas attaquer la monarchie. Alors, c'est un sujet que nous avons mis de côté, qui n'a pas été mis au tableau au mois de juin lorsque nous avons établi les douze sujets de l'ordre du jour.

C'est un sujet qui préoccupe certainement pas beaucoup les Provinces mais, pour autant qu'il les préoccupe, elles ne veulent pas qu'on y touche. On n'y a pas touché.

JACK BEST:

Prime Minister, do you think that the British government and the British Parliament is going to be under any moral or legal obligation to comply with this request? I ask against the background of the fact that some British government officials have expressed nervousness about being faced with a request that is not based on a consensus between the federal government and the provinces.

PRIME MINISTER:

Well, officials are frequently nervous when they are asked to do something unusual or that has not been done before. And we are patriating a constitution. That is obviously something which has not been done before in the case of Canada. It is a request that I am sure might make some of them nervous, but I don't think that should be any reason to worry us.

JACK BEST:

Have your officials, your own officials, made any soundings of the attitude which the British government might take?

PRIME MINISTER:

Yes. Last June when I was in London I was asked this question and I talked to Prime Minister Thatcher; I talked to the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Callaghan, and I talked to the Leader of the Liberal Party. All of them took the same position: It is quite clear that when the Canadian Parliament by joint address asks us to do something with the British North America Act, we have no choice but to do it.

GILLES PAQUIN, LA PRESSE: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, vous parlez des droits des citoyens à recevoir l'éducation dans leur langue partout afin qu'il n'y ait pas de citoyens de seconde zone.

Pourquoi est-ce que ces droits-là ne s'étendent pas également aux services que les citoyens peuvent recevoir de leurs gouvernements comme l'article 133 le fait pour le Québec et un autre le fait pour le Manitoba, par exemple?

R. Eh bien, vous allez me rendre un peu nostalgique parce qu'en 1971 nous avions obtenu l'accord de sept Provinces, par exemple, pour enchâsser de tels droits dans la Constitution sur, par exemple, les questions de la législature, de cinq autres Provinces pour rendre les services, comme vous dites, aux minorités dans leurs langues. Nous avions obtenu cet accord. Mais figurez-vous que c'est la province de Québec qui a empêché cet accord d'être entériné dans la Constitution; c'est elle qui a bloqué l'entente de Victoria.

Et c'est pourquoi maintenant, je pense, qu'il faut agir, qu'il faut agir sans tarder. Nous avons une possibilité d'agir. Nous n'avons pas agi en '71 et nous avons perdu un peu de terrain sur ce domaine-là.

Alors, vous posez la question, la réponse c'est que plusieurs des provinces à ce moment-là étaient prêtes à marcher dans le sens que vous souhaitez

ne le sont plus et l'ont indiqué fort clairement à la conférence il y a quinze jours.

GAYLE MORRIS:

Prime Minister, if minority language educational rights are entrenched, as it appears they would be under this, will this render ultra vires the section of Quebec's Bill 101 that requires Canadians from other provinces to request permission to have their children educated in English?

PRIME MINISTER:

I haven't studied the exact effect of this on Bill 101. I say "the exact effect". I think the spirit of Bill 101 is to force French-speaking Canadians into French schools. I mean what the Quebec government feared mainly was that too many French Canadians were sending their kids to English schools. We don't change that.

So the main thrust of Bill 101 is not affected by this amendment. What we are doing now is what the premiers said should be done in Montreal in 1978: protect the minorities.

In so far as the majority is concerned, in the case of Quebec, the French Canadians, if they don't like Bill 101 they have means of getting rid of it.

BILL FOX:

Prime Minister, at an earlier news conference this year you spoke of the serious threat to Canadian unity posed by provincial laws restricting the free flow of goods, services, people and particularly capital across the borders. Your emissaries to the summer-long talks spoke at some length at the need

of a constitutional protection for the Canadian economic union?

PRIME MINISTER:

My emissaries to what, I am sorry?

BILL FOX:

The summer long constitutional negotiations. The document that you will put to Parliament provides that protection to people only. What happened to the good services and capital part?

PRIME MINISTER:

Well, they went by the board. We are putting in the constitution now that which we think will correspond to what is possible.

We had, you will recall all summer long, a project to put in the constitution a reaffirmation and a protection of the notion of economic union, and that notion of economic union would have had the consequences that you say, would have meant the free flow of goods and capital and services and so on. But, you will recall, that not only we didn't get the consent of the provinces to that, but it was argued, and with some justification, that by putting that in the constitution we would be increasing federal powers. That may be debatable , but that was the argument put to us this summer, that we were, by using such clauses, increasing federal power. We had the trade and commerce power now, but maybe it didn't apply to services in Canada. In this project that we are putting before Parliament, the thing that we shunned like the devil is to increase

our powers in any way. We know that that would have been really fatal to any possibility of acceptance. We didn't want to take powers from the provinces unto ourselves. As I say, we are taking them from the British Parliament. We are giving them to the people. We are, in a sense, limiting federal and provincial powers, but we are not grabbing powers for ourselves. There might have been a danger had we gone the route you suggest; at least that was what was argued this summer, but that would have been, in effect, increasing federal powers.

BILL FOX:

Is the threat any less serious today than it was back in June when you were in this room?

PRIME MINISTER:

No. And that is why I indicate that we hope to continue discussions.

You see, the Gordian knot was that as long as patriation and charter of rights was there unsolved, the provinces thought they could bargain something against it. Now that, hopefully, it will be solved, we won't be bargaining, as I say, fish against rights or oil against Canadian independence, we will be bargaining federal powers against provincial powers, and I think it will be a more realistic approach.

I mean, there were different views of Canada. Some will think that provinces should have this power; and we should have that. We had reached, this summer, a fair degree of consensus on sever

things: family law, for instance. It should be done. Hopefully it will be done. But this was a transfer, if we had put it in now, a transfer of power to the provinces and we didn't want to do that any more than we wanted to transfer, perhaps, power to the federal government through the inscription of the economic union sections in here.

DANIEL LESSARD, Radio-Canada: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, est-ce que vous pensez que ce projet de loi sera suffisant pour rencontrer les aspirations des Québecois et pour vous permettre de remplir les promesses de renouveau que vous avez faites pendant la campagne référendaire du Québec?

R. Eh bien, c'est un commencement et si nous nous en étions tenus à l'ancienne manière, comme je le disais, de chercher l'unanimité sur tout, en tout et partout, nous aurions continué d'échouer pendant cinquante-trois ans comme nous l'avons fait les cinquante-trois années passées.

Alors, il fallait commencer. J'ai toujours, c'est bien connu, depuis au moins dix ans, indiqué à la population canadienne par là où je croyais qu'il fallait commencer: le rapatriement, la protection et l'enchâssement des droits fondamentaux, et j'ai toujours pensé qu'une fois ce geste fait, nous serions plus dégagés de part et d'autre pour ensuite négocier sur les pouvoirs appartenant aux divers niveaux de gouvernement. Alors, encore une fois, je pense que la population québécoise ne sera pas surprise que je fasse maintenant ce que j'ai toujours dit que nous devions faire au départ; la suite du numéro, je ne peux pas le faire tout seul puisqu'il s'agit d'échanger des pouvoirs entre le fédéral et les Provinces. Ça, ça doit se faire en négociations à dix et à onze, et j'espère que nous allons continuer bientôt.

D'ailleurs, la résolution que nous proposons impose une obligation claire au Gouvernement canadien dans les prochaines années de convoquer des conférences fédérales-provinciales pour discuter de problèmes constitutionnels et, notamment, celui de la formule d'amendement.

WAYNE BROWN:

Prime Minister, your charter of rights and freedoms will be binding on all of the provinces. Obviously some of the provinces are going to take great issue with that. If a province or several provinces decided to go to the courts to challenge your plans, would you then wait for the court's decision, or would you push ahead with your patriation effort?

PRIME MINISTER:

Well, I might not agree with your premise. I mean you say many provinces will take issue with it. I don't know. Nor do you, I suppose. But I am convinced that many of the provinces, two or three weeks ago at the federal-provincial conference, were really bargaining. They thought I wanted a charter of rights very badly, and they said, "well, we won't give it to him - we say we are against it - until we get something else - in direct taxation or offshore resources, and so on." Because most of those provinces have charters of rights themselves. Most of them -- well, all of them -- have been bound to the acceptance of the Charter of Rights of the United Nations, to which we adhered as a nation with the consent of the provinces. Most of them -- and they recognize that even in discussion -- realize that democratic rights to the obligation to have an election every five years; the obligation to meet your legislature at least once a year -- this is something they are not going to fight. I don't know, maybe some of them will. But I would be very surprised if any or many of them did. I mean, look

at the program of even the Parti Québécois; and certainly Mr. Ryan's Grey Paper. They want a charter of rights in the constitution. In Mr. Lévesque's case, it would be the constitution an independent Quebec. But, I mean, they are not against the idea of a charter of rights. They just didn't want to consent to this one at this time for, what I suspect to be, bargaining reasons.

WAYNE BROWN:

What if a province did decide to take you to court, would you wait for the court ruling, or would you push ahead on your own?

PRIME MINISTER:

I don't know what it would take to court; a motion, a resolution of the House of Commons? Certainly our intention is to proceed with this resolution on Monday. There is no doubt about that. And certainly we hope that Parliament will deal with it with due caution, but not undue tardiness. You know, I don't think these things can or should wait.

CHRISTOPHER WALMSLEY:

Prime Minister, as you said earlier tonight, for the last 50 years the process of constitutional change in Canada is what you call "the straight-jacket of unanimity". I am concerned, sir, about the process in which this document changes that unanimous. And the fact that you presented this document tonight changes that accepted practice.

Following on the last question, do you not expect an upheaval

from the provincial governments in the change of this rule at this time?

PRIME MINISTER:

Quite honestly, I can't see any province or provincial government campaigning so that we leave our constitution in Great Britain. Once again, Mike was right in the previous question, I think it was a bargaining point. They hoped to get something out of the "feds" by saying "we don't want to patriate". You know, I have heard that some provinces are thinking of adopting resolutions or sending people to London to say they don't want to have the Canadian constitution in Canada. I think they would look foolish in the eyes of the world, and probably in the eyes of the British. You know, I can't say what will be done. I don't know. But I am convinced that every Canadian wants to have the Canadian constitution in Canada. And after having failed through unanimity -- through the rule of unanimity - to do it in 53 years, I think a person would be inclined to look a little bit foolish to say, "well, let's try that for another 53 years. We don't really want the Canadian Parliament to achieve full independence for our country", which it can do legally.

PETER LLOYD:

Prime Minister, on the matter of things that weren't included, I wonder what happened to the preamble setting out the basic principles of the country. It would seem like a fairly fundamental thing to have in any country's constitution, and particularly in view of the fact that you are moving ahead on the charter of rights

over the strong objections of most of the provinces, why on another matter of principle, i.e., the preamble, did you also not move ahead?

PRIME MINISTER:

Well, for the simple reason that we wanted a resolution which is reasonably short; some 16 pages, and we didn't want to put everything into it. As I answered this question earlier, there were 12 items debated during the summer, one of them being the preamble; we only took action on two or maybe three: Patriation, the charter and equalization.

I think that is a good enough bite now, and we think that Parliament, if it does this, will really break the log-jam and permit us to agree on many other things, hopefully including the preamble.

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE DONNEE A OTTAWA AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE LE 10 OCTOBRE 1980.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE ON OCTOBER 10, 1980.

PAUL RACINE, Radio-Canada: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, le chef du Nouveau Parti Démocratique a semblé indiquer qu'il était prêt à appuyer votre résolution à condition qu'il y ait un ou deux amendements portant sur la taxation indirecte et le pouvoir pour les provinces de légiférer concurremment sur le commerce inter-provincial.

Etant donné que ce sont des sujets sur lesquels il y a eu accord à la dernière conférence et qui donnent, en fait, des pouvoirs nouveaux aux Provinces, est-ce que vous êtes prêt à accepter des amendements en ce sens?

R. Eh bien, vous avez raison de dire que nous étions prêts à accepter cet amendement-là pendant la conférence fédérale-provinciale elle-même en retour de quoi nous aurions eu une garantie par les Provinces qu'elles appuieraient la notion d'union économique au Canada. Les provinces ne nous ont pas donné cette garantie. Alors, nous avons décidé d'agir par la voie du seul Parlement.

Alors, à ce stade-ci, je pense qu'il est inopportun pour les provinces d'essayer de rembarquer dans la négociation. Elles nous ont dit le 9 septembre... enfin, j'oublie quelle date... le vendredi fatidique que si on n'acceptait pas tout le paquet, eux ne marchaient dans rien.

Alors, maintenant que nous avons suivi une autre voie que celle de l'entente fédérale-provinciale, je ne pense pas qu'il soit légitime pour ces Provinces-là de dire, bien, nous allons utiliser contre vous ce que vous étiez prêt à nous donner. Oui, nous étions prêt à donner en retour, disons, de l'union économique...

Donc, c'est ma réponse générale à Monsieur Broadbent.

Par ailleurs, j'aimerais bien avoir son appui parce que c'est sûr qu'il a plus de députés dans l'Ouest que nous n'en avons et ça nous serait utile d'avoir l'appui du parti néo-démocratique fédéral et, je l'espère, peut-être même celui de la Saskatchewan qui est la province qui demandait cet amendement au nom de l'Ouest, mais on verra. On verra.

Si c'est le seul amendement proposé pour satisfaire toutes les Provinces de l'Ouest, peut-être que je serai encore une fois flexible, mais je n'en sais rien.

GILBERT BRINGUE, R-Canada: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, au moment où l'on s'apprête à consacrer les droits et libertés fondamentaux des individus dans une charte, il y a aussi une loi parallèlement, la loi sur les Mesures de Guerre, qui vient entrer en contradiction avec l'esprit de cette charte.

Est-ce que le moment ne serait pas venu d'abolir cette loi sur les Mesures de Guerre?

R. Eh bien, l'utilité de la charte, voyez-vous, c'est que justement ça rendrait inopérants les caractères dont on douterait qu'elle puisse être arbitraire, de cette loi-là.

Ca n'empêcherait pas, évidemment, un pays de faire la guerre parce qu'il y a une charte des droits de l'homme, mais il y aurait un recours aux tribunaux pour savoir si effectivement le gouvernement qui a invoqué cette charte et les gouvernements qui en ont fait l'application, en l'occurrence, la province de Québec, ont agi à l'intérieur du respect des libertés fondamentales.

Ce sont les tribunaux qui pourraient dire à ce moment-là au gouvernement, oui, vous avez le droit en temps de guerre d'avoir une loi des Mesures de Guerre mais vous ne devez pas vous en servir comme prétexte pour faire des choses arbitraires.

MICHEL GUENARD: TVA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, je voudrais avoir vos réactions à la publication du rapport Duchesne, particulièrement en regard de l'accusation qui est faite contre votre gouvernement en 1970 d'avoir utilisé la crise d'octobre à des fins d'intimidation envers les groupes politiques contestataires du Québec.

R. Je n'ai pas lu le rapport, bien sûr, étant donné qu'il a été rendu public hier seulement mais j'ai lu attentivement les journaux ce matin, par inaccoutumance, et il me semble que ce que je vois dans le sommaire qui en est fait que c'est une déclaration générale qui, sauf erreur, vient plutôt de Monsieur Bédard, le ministre de la Justice, que du rapport Duchesne lui-même, que nous avons utilisé d'intimidation , mais ni dans l'un ni dans l'autre est-ce que je vois que cela soit appuyé sur les faits. Au contraire.

On nous dit que le gouvernement fédéral a répondu aux demandes pressantes des autorités provinciales et municipales pour invoquer la loi des Mesures de Guerre; autrement dit, nous, nous ne voulions pas le faire et ils ont dû nous presser pendant plusieurs jours avant que nous acceptions de le faire et, pour ce qui est de la liste des arrestations, je demande à la voir parce que ce que l'on y rapporte n'est pas tout-à-fait conforme à mon souvenir des évènements mais on établit quand même clairement que la liste d'arrestations comprenait ceux qui étaient soupçonnés d'être directement impliqués dans le réseau FLQ, ceux qui les appuyaient et ceux qui se seraient servi des évènements pour préconiser le recours à la violence.

Alors, si c'est ça, la base de la liste, ça ne me paraît ni arbitraire ni même mauvais.

Nous étions dans une situation de panique populaire et de désordre grandissant où beaucoup, disons, des meneurs d'opinion de la province de Québec étaient du côté du FLQ, signaient des manifestes préconisant la libération des prisonniers dits politiques, nous étions dans une situation où la violence avait eu lieu à diverses reprises: grève des policiers de Montréal, l'affaire de... comment s'appellent ces convoyeurs vers... Murray Hill.

Il y avait eu beaucoup de violence dans les rues de Montréal dans la période antérieure et pendant les enlèvements, il y a eu un appui assez spectaculaire non seulement d'assemblées de manifestants nombreuses à l'université et dans d'autres forums. Il y a eu l'appui moral donné -- je le dis -- par les meneurs d'opinion de la province de Québec. Enfin, voyez la liste de ceux qui ont signé une pétition demandant au gouvernement de libérer les prisonniers de droit commun qu'ils appelaient des prisonniers politiques et vous verrez qu'il y avait là un climat très dangereux pour le maintien de l'ordre.

Alors, ces choses-là sont plus ou moins escamotées, sauf erreur, sinon dans le rapport lui-même, certainement le récit qu'en font les journalistes à l'exception, je dois le dire, de William Johnson qui est un des seuls commentateurs que je prends plaisir à lire. Je dis ça sans vouloir me nuire!

DAVID HALTON,CBC: Prime Minister, I take it from your first answer that you are indeed open to considering, at least, the NDP amendment on natural resources, but you are not open to many other substantial amendments to the constitutional package.

PRIME MINISTER: That is perhaps a way of putting it. I do not want to get back into the bargaining process, which failed in the beginning of our meetings in September with the Premiers when they told me, "Here is a package of 12 items, what we want on this -- take it or leave it." And when I said, "Well, I cannot take it all, but I can take it in part ---" and, incidentally, a few Premiers there said, "Well, okay, let's deal on parts of the package," and a couple of Premiers stood up to their feet and practically shouted, "No, it is all or nothing," and those Premiers who were prepared to make a deal sort of backed down and said, "Well, yes, it is all or nothing." And it could not be all, because "all" included the right of self-determination for Quebec, and so on.

The bargaining failed so we are using another method, a parliamentary resolution, and I do not think that now we can re-open that bargaining in this part of the package. I am very, very willing to continue

constitutional negotiations in a Phase II and include in there, as I have said myself, things on the Supreme Court, on the Indians, on family law, and so on. But to put part of a package in at this stage is not something I am very keen on, because I am not sure I would be able to get the quid pro quo, which is a recognition of the economic union. But I have not quite closed the door either. I want to see what does come forth by way of amendment; what does come forth by way of, hopefully, positive suggestions from the Premiers' meeting in Toronto. If it is not tantamount to trying to deal with their Stage Two without dealing with our Stage Two, the economic union, then I would have an open mind on that type of amendment. But I am not saying it will happen. I will have to wait to see what they are asking for. If it is just one little thing, as I said in French -- well, one big thing that we had been prepared to give, and if I were to be convinced that that would mean the support of the west, for instance, then I perhaps would be inclined to be a little flexible.

KEN LAWRENCE: CHCH-TV: Prime Minister, in recent days there have been reports out of both Ottawa and Washington that the fisheries treaty between Canada and the U.S. as it now stands may never be ratified. Once the U.S. elections are out of the way, would you consider getting personally involved in trying to get the U.S. to ratify the treaty?

PRIME MINISTER: The answer is, "Yes, of course." I have been personally involved. I discussed it with President Carter as recently as the Venice Summit, and since, I think, in phone calls. I am not sure of the dates here.

I have the assurance of the administration that this should be done. But, on the eve of an election, they were not able to swing Congress. Hopefully, after the Presidential election, they will be able to get Congress to live up to what was put together over years of hard negotiations, which is not pleasing completely to either side, but which is give and take, as has existed in the past between the United States and Canada.

Q. But would you personally get involved if you see at some point that there is no way it is going to be ratified?

PRIME MINISTER: Involved in the sense of discussing it at the level of the President, yes; but not involved in the sense of re-opening negotiations and being part of the negotiations. We had a crack negotiator, Mr. Marcel Cadieux, and he had the assistance of several very capable ministers when it came to the political input. So, I would not want to re-open it in that sense.

JOHN ROGERS, Reuters: Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Clark the other day accused you of sneaking off to Westminster and asking Westminster to make substantive changes in matters that are

disputed in Canada. Do you have any direct comment on that observation?

PRIME MINISTER: I would have some negative comments on the "sneaking off to Westminister." I think it is rather well known that for 53 years federal governments have been trying to say, "Let's go to Westminster to do this." Personally, for the past 11 years, since I have been Prime Minister, I have always said, "Look, we do not want unilateral action; we want to get provincial agreement." But I have never ruled out that at some point, at some stage, we would not go to Westminster.

So, it is hardly a matter of sneaking off when you have been saying it for 11 years.

WAYNE BROWN, SBN: Prime Minister, there are now three vacant seats in the House of Commons. Might we expect some by-elections soon?

PRIME MINISTER: I have not made any decision on that. I think we certainly would want the people in those circumscriptions to be represented, but how soon is "soon" I really have no views on right now.

DANIEL LESSARD: R-Canada: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, il semble y avoir une certaine confusion au sujet de la clause de la charte des droits sur la langue de l'enseignement, il y a des députés de votre parti qui s'inquiètent qu'on puisse se retrouver avec deux catégories d'immigrants au Québec. Il y a Monsieur Yalden hier qui parlait d'une certaine forme de discrimination.

Est-ce que vous êtes prêt à considérer des amendements ou une sorte de modification de cette clause?

R. Vous savez, la position de notre gouvernement, on l'a établie clairement à la suite du bill 22 et ensuite du bill 101.

Nous préférerions la liberté de choix absolue. Toute personne, quelle que soit son origine, canadienne ou née à l'étranger, devrait pouvoir envoyer ses enfants à l'école de son choix, que ce soit dans l'une des deux langues officielles du pays.

Mais nous sommes résignés à ne protéger constitutionnellement que les minorités qui sont en danger. Autrement dit, cette partie du bill 101 qui dit à la majorité francophone du Québec vous devez envoyer vos enfants à l'école française, personnellement, je le regrette, je le comprends, mais ce n'est pas le rôle de la Constitution de protéger les majorités. Elles ont ce pouvoir en changeant

les gouvernements en période électorale. Ce sont les minorités que nous essayons de protéger et, en l'occurrence, quelles minorités? Les minorités francophones des autres provinces et la minorité anglophone du Québec.

Nous n'essayons pas de protéger ceux, qui partis de l'étranger, décident de s'établir dans une province essentiellement francophone ou dans une province essentiellement anglophone et d'exiger des droits dans la langue de la minorité de cette province-là. Si les provinces veulent leur donner ces droits-là, j'en suis réjoui et je pense qu'elles le devraient mais, encore une fois, nous protégeons ceux que l'accident de la vie a fait qu'ils sont nés, disons, d'une famille francophone à Saskatoon et d'une famille anglophone à Pointe-Claire. Ce sont des minorités, elles ont droit à la protection de la Constitution, et c'est dans cet esprit-là que nous avons rédigé notre bill, pas pour résoudre le problème de tout le monde mais pour protéger les minorités francophones et anglophones là où elles sont.

MICHEL VASTEL: Le Devoir: Monsieur le Premier ministre, je reviendrais au problème du malaise dans l'Ouest et à l'appui que vous semblez souhaiter finalement d'un autre parti que le vôtre.

Or, ni Monsieur Blakeney ni Monsieur Barrett, je pense, ont montré des signes très

visibles pour l'instant qu'ils étaient prêts à jouer un rôle d'élément modérateur dans leurs régions.

Est-ce qu'il ne vous appartiendrait pas, Monsieur le Premier ministre, de les encourager à jouer ce rôle-là, même au risque de sacrifier les intérêts à court terme de votre parti, d'encourager Monsieur Blakeney et Monsieur Barrett à jouer un rôle plus visible d'élément modérateur et d'avoir une action plus positive dans les quatre provinces de l'Ouest?

R. Je ne vois pas en quoi celà sacrifierait les intérêts plus immédiats de mon parti, comme vous le dites. J'ai parlé à Monsieur Blakeney avant, pendant et après la conférence, j'ai essayé de le persuader de la justesse de mon point de vue, je ne sais toujours pas quelle position il prendra. Est-ce qu'il fera une déclaration plus détaillée avant la conférence de Toronto ou non? Je serais ravi qu'il nous appuie et je viens de le dire, tout à l'heure, qu'au fond l'amendement qu'il demandait, c'est Monsieur Broadbent maintenant qui le réclame et qui en aura le crédit.

Je pense que si nous devions accepter cet amendement-là, il serait non seulement souhaitable mais presque juste, que Monsieur Blakeney appuie la proposition puisque c'est celle-là que lui-même demandait, mais je ne peux pas faire plus.

Pour ce qui est de Monsieur Barrett, je ne lui ai pas parlé. C'est le chef de l'opposition. Je sais que le sénateur Perrault et peut-être d'autres personnes de notre parti lui ont parlé, mais je n'ai pas de relations directes avec lui non plus qu'avec d'autres chefs d'opposition.

Mais ne vous méprenez pas. Je souhaite l'appui du plus grand nombre d'autorités publiques possible.

RICHARD DAIGNEAULT: Soleil:Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, en 1867, les chefs politiques des principales colonies anglaises se sont entendues pour demander au Parlement britannique l'union fédérative.

En 1980, si la mésentente continue entre les divers niveaux de gouvernement, est-ce que vous envisagez la possibilité de faire une adresse commune de la Chambre des communes du Sénat et du peuple canadien pour aller devant le Parlement britannique?

R. Eh bien, à peu de choses près, vous me demandez si je vais faire ce que je suis en train de faire et la réponse, sauf erreur, doit être oui.

Est-ce que j'ai mal compris votre question?

Vous me demandez si je songerais à faire une adresse commune. C'est ce que nous faisons actuellement.

Q. De la Chambre des communes du Sénat, en d'autres mots, de faire un référendum avant de vous présenter devant le Parlement britannique.

R. Non, je n'envisage pas de faire ça. Ce qui m'étonne plutôt c'est que lorsque nous parlons d'avoir un ultime recours au peuple inscrit dans la nouvelle charte qu'elle trouve non pas seulement l'opposition de Monsieur Clark mais apparemment même celle de Monsieur Nystrom du parti Néo-Démocratique et de quelques autres personnes.

Je suis un peu confus dans tout celà.

Vous, vous me suggérez que je dois recourir au peuple pour avoir des amendements, eux argumentent qu'un recours au peuple est dangeureux parce qu'il a pour effet de passer par-dessus la tête des provinces. Alors, vous m'invitez à poser un geste ou une action qui mettrait les provinces et Monsieur Clark et Monsieur Nystrom encore plus en furie. Alors, vu ma modération habituelle, je suis enclin à refuser votre invitation.

STUART LANGFORD, CBC: Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if I could take advantage of your legal mind for a minute and ask a small legal opinion and, following from that, perhaps a political position.

I wonder if you are familiar with the Thorson appeal against the Official Languages Act, a 1974 Decision of the Supreme Court.

PRIME MINISTER: Yes, I remember it rather well, in general terms.

Q. It was an interesting one because, as a citizen, he was given standing to attack something like that, and though we are dealing with something slightly different here in a joint address, eventually it will have the impact of law. I wonder, first of all, whether you have looked into the possibility or whether you have an opinion on the possibility of what success a Thorson might have in getting standing attacking this joint address, this joint resolution in the same sort of way; secondly, if someone does that -- just a citizen not an Attorney General of a province, just a citizen -- does attack it, does go before the court, is granted standing, what would you feel your duty is to the Supreme Court? Will you delay everything and wait for the ruling, or will you just carry on?

PRIME MINISTER: If you are taking the Thorson example, what would happen is that, after the resolution has been adopted and the law passed in the United Kingdom, somebody in Canada, be it Thorson or be it an Attorney General, would want to seek locus standi to attack it. I have no doubt that some occasions will arise where somebody will attack it.

Q. I was thinking of before.

PRIME MINISTER: Well, quite frankly, there I refer to your legal expertise. How can they attack before the court something which is just in a discussion stage? I do not think that is possible. But after, yes, and we will do what we always do when there is a constitutional case of importance in front of the courts -- we send lawyers there to plead the federal point of view, whatever it happens to be.

Q. I guess what I was saying was that people were surprised that Thorson got standing when he did. I, like you, would be surprised if a new Mr. Thorson got standing at this point, but I really do not know what the situation is for a joint address. Perhaps you do not either.

PRIME MINISTER: Well, Thorson got standing after the Official Languages Act had been adopted, and that is the point I am making. Somebody can, and maybe will, get standing once the constitution is patriated with certain

clauses in it. It will be attacked, I am sure, in some way by some people. If not in a month, it will be attacked in 10 years, because there will be some civil liberties case come up which will be inconvenient to somebody and it will be tested in the courts.

Q. Perhaps I can be a little more general. If in some way it is attacked now, what would you feel your position is? Would you have to delay things while you waited for the attack to be over?

PRIME MINISTER: What I am really answering is that I do not think it can be attacked now. We are lawyers. You cannot take an injunction against Parliament.

ANDREW SZENDE, Toronto Star: Mr. Prime Minister, this is a supplementary to an earlier question about immigrants. You said last week that you did not think there was a place in Canada for second class citizens. Yet, you are entrenching in your proposed constitution a provision that would guarantee certain rights to some citizens of Canada and not to other citizens of Canada. If a person comes to Vancouver, let's say, from Hong Kong and starts to learn English and sends his children to an English school and then gets transferred to Montreal, he will not have the right to send those children to an English school again in Montreal.

PRIME MINISTER: Yes, he will.

Q. In the meantime, that person will have become a Canadian citizen and yet he will not be afforded the same protections under the Canadian constitution as another citizen moving from Vancouver to Montreal. Do you think that this is a desirable way to write a constitution?

PRIME MINISTER: With respect, in the example you give -- you have the text, I do not have it before me -- I think precisely the answer is contrary to the one you give. That citizen, transferred to Quebec, with kids who entered the English stream, would be able to send his kids to the English school. That is the second paragraph of article 23. Is it article 23 that talks about minority school languages?

Q. Yes.

PRIME MINISTER: Well, read the second paragraph. It answers your case exactly.

Q. It reads: "Where a citizen of Canada changes residence from one province to another and, prior to the change, any child of that citizen has been receiving his or her primary or secondary school instruction in either English or French ---" You think that would cover anyone coming from ---

PRIME MINISTER: That is exactly the case you have stated. He has come from Hong Kong; he is in

Vancouver; he has become a Canadian citizen; his kids are in English schools. He goes to Quebec and invokes that article.

Q. So, the only person who would not be covered by that would be someone who has come to Canada but who is not yet a Canadian citizen.

PRIME MINISTER: We have covered that case as best we can. I am still not saying that everybody is treated absolutely equally. I answered in French a moment ago that our preference would be absolute freedom of choice, whether you are a citizen or not, whether you have come from Hong Kong or Timbuktu, and so on.

But we see it as our duty in the constitutional charter, not only to go by what the Premiers in Montreal and St. Andrew's said they would go by. Therefore, we do not want to impose on them something they said they were not prepared to accept as just.

But we also accept that as probably a good basis of what should be put into a charter, because we seek to protect the minorities. We do not try to protect the majorities. They can protect themselves by changing the government at election time. We want to protect the minorities, specifically the French-speaking minorities in the rest of Canada and the English-speaking minorities in Quebec.

But someone comes from the outside and immigrates into Quebec, he knows that it is, preponderantly, a French-speaking province. We do not have to

protect him. He had a free choice. He could have gone to Ontario had he wanted, or he could have gone to New Brunswick or to British Columbia. He chose Quebec, so therefore we are saying that he freely chose to go. In that sense, we are not imposing absolute freedom of choice on everybody. We are trying to protect the minorities, the French and English minorities in the country.

DAVE RINN, CJOH: Mr. Prime Minister, a general question relating to the economy and the forthcoming budget. The Economic Council and the Conference Board, and other groups, have all pronounced the economy right now in serious condition. The Conference Board, in its latest report, states that the situation is going to get much worse.

Faced with this situation and the budget coming up, do you have any reason in the back of your mind to change the thrust of economic and fiscal and monetary policy adopted by your government and the attitude and the approach taken by the Bank of Canada?

Do you have any doubt in the back of your mind that the country is moving along the proper economic road to recovery?

PRIME MINISTER: Without going into detail, but just stating what I think you are asking, the

general macro-economic policy we are following, I think, is correct. To what extent the budget will incline it a little bit in one sense or use another type of instrument is something, obviously, I cannot say. But the general economic thrust of having a deficit in order to stimulate growth and create jobs, while hopefully not aggravating inflation, is the right one. As we have constantly reminded -- even the NDP who constantly says you should be stimulating more. We are stimulating the economy to the tune of some $14 billion a year, which is the size of our cash.

Q. Is that enough?

PRIME MINISTER: Well, what is $14 billion, vou are telling me. I say that that is a lot of money.

Q. The Chambers of Commerce and a lot of businessmen in this country are asking for more stimulus to get jobs and production going, and that is spending your way out of the problem.

PRIME MINISTER: Well, I do not know too many Chambers of Commerce that are asking that the deficit be enlarged, and that is what you and I are talking about. The deficit is some $14 billion. Are many of them saying that we should hurry to increase it to $16 billion?

I think that is something that we would gladly do if that ---

Q. They are asking you to change your priorities.

PRIME MINISTER: What priorities?

THE CHAIRMAN: Excuse me, Mr. Rinn, but we have to move on.

WILLIAM FOX, Southam News Service: Prime Minister, the Duchaine report states that the RCMP knew the whereabouts of the Rose brothers for a month but "inexplicably withheld that information from the QPF."

Were you aware of that in the past? Have you sought an explanation for it in the past, or do you intend to seek an explanation for that in the days ahead and will you make it public, through Parliament?

PRIME MINISTER: I certainly never sought an explanation of it. I certainly do not remember ever having been made aware of it. But it is not the kind of question which I feel is very difficult to answer. Whether I will ask the police or not will perhaps depend on -- maybe they will tell me. But that a police force which has some vital information at some point and wants not to make it public at that point because they are hoping that, by using that knowledge secretly, they will get more information, does not seem to me to be either illegal or illogical or inconsistent with the way I would operate if I were a policeman.

Q. Are you suggesting that telling the QPF is tantamount to making it public, sir?

PRIME MINISTER: I am not suggesting that, but I do know that the more people who know about some very, very valuable information, the greater the chances are that it will leak. I just cannot comment on the state of the intimacy of the relationships between the three police forces in those days.

I reminded us all earlier that a very short time before there had been a general strike of the Montreal police force which threw the province into complete chaos and which, as you will recall, resulted in the smashing of St. Catharine Street from one end to the other.

So, if the RCMP were a little bit cautious in spreading their information, I am certainly prepared not to condemn them. There may be some specific reason which, when I have time, I might some day ask them about; but it is not something that either bewilders me or makes me very anxious about the state of things in those days.

THE CHAIRMAN: Merci beaucoup.

PRIME MINISTER: There was one question which I was hoping to get which I didn't which may not be important, but can I ask it myself?

Why are you putting this referendum mechanism in section42, the one that Mr. Clark attacks so strongly, and Mr. Nystrom, and which Mr. Blakeney, and so on, have been attacking?

Mr. Chrétien has given an answer; Mr. Regan has given an answer, or will give an answer. I think he is going to speak today. He was going to speak yesterday. I would like to at least give you the rationale of it, since I have something of a captive audience, and then let you think about it.

We need a deadlock-breaking mechanism. It is as simple as that. We know what deadlocks are. We have had one since 1927. The federal government and the provinces have failed to agree unanimously, and therefore nothing could be done.

But even short of unanimity, there can be a deadlock, and I think we have historical proof of that in the past 10 years when at least one province -- and now certainly two and perhaps three, because I would add Mr. Peckford and Mr. Bennett's provinces to Mr. Bourassa's and Mr. Lévesque's Quebec --have said, "If we do not get what we want, we won't let you do anything." And that was the position at this last federal-provincial conference. Mr. Lévesque wanted absolutely self-determination to be expressed in some way or another; Mr. Peckford wanted absolutely the offshore;

Mr. Bennett wanted absolutely the kind of Senate he was asking for, and so on.

So, provinces can use even an amending formula to blackmail the rest of the country in saying, "No matter that everybody wants it but me ---" me in, say, Quebec, or me in Ontario -- "I will prevent Canada from moving." So, there can be deadlocks. There have been deadlocks; there are deadlocks. Now we have, in the present state of the law, the constitution, one way of getting out of that deadlock, and that is to go to Westminster and say, "You know, for 53 years there has been a deadlock. It has to be broken. Please help us break it."

But once that has been done once, it is done forever. It cannot be done any more. The constitution is back here. The deadlock will be of our own making, and the deadlock has to be broken here in Canada. We cannot go to the Pope; we cannot go to the Queen; we cannot go to the President of the United States and say, "Help us out of this jam."

Who do we go to? We go to the people. How in heaven's name can anybody say that that is anti-democratic? How can the New Democratic Party say that, in the ultimate recourse, you should not have recourse to the people to break a deadlock?

And that is the spirit of section 42. Once again, if we could ask God to do it, it would be better. But until God comes in and does it, we have to believe in the sovereign people, and that is what we are saying,

essentially.

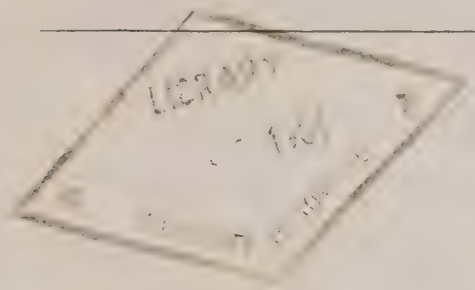
Now, if there is a better way of saying it, I would like to hear it, but that is what we are saying. Mind you, we cannot use that deadlock-breaking mechanism without a joint address of the Senate and of the House of Commons, and the House of Commons as it is or as it purports to be, or hopefully as it will be, speaks for the regions.

And that is why we have a deadlock-breaking mechanism. Thank you very much.

Government

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE
AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 7, 1980

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER
MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE A OTTAWA,
LE 7 NOVEMBRE 1980



THE CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister has no opening statement. This is a 30-minute press conference.

JACK BEST (Canada World News): Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if I could ask you for your reaction to the decision of the Select Committee of the British Houses of Parliament to conduct hearings on the patriation question, and say particularly whether you consider that interference or meddling in Canadian affairs.

A. I don't know much about it. I understand that it is a committee of backbenchers and not a committee of the House. It is not the British government seizing it with any policy, but the committee itself examining the relations of the British Parliament with the BNA Act, one of their own laws. I can't take great offence to that, and I can't be very worried about it. I am not clear on the details. I do know that I

have a commitment from the British Prime Minister that the British government will pass any resolutions put to it in the normal way by the Canadian government, and that is what we plan to do.

Q. As a supplementary, I wonder if I could ask you for your reaction to a statement which was made the other day by the chairman of that committee, Anthony Kershaw, as quoted in the Montreal Gazette. He said:

> "One of the difficulties of what we think we could be faced with is that the proposals from the federal government include not merely patriating the BNA Act but adding a great deal to them.
>
> "We are being asked, as we see it at the moment, to rewrite the BNA Act in a very fundamental way and we wonder whether the British House of Commons has a duty to do this at the present time."

I wonder if I could ask for your reaction or comment on that.

A. If that is an accurate quote, obviously there is a mistake. We are not asking the British government to rewrite the BNA Act in any fundamental way. We are asking them to take a document and pass it through the British Parliament, which is much as they did when Newfoundland was brought into Confederation. That was a fundamental change of Canada. The British didn't object to that fundamental change. They just passed

it.

It is the same thing when we changed division of powers in 1940 on unemployment insurance, and the same thing when we changed it in 1953-54.

Every time we change the BNA Act and there have been substantial amendments, it was a fundamental change of the BNA Act, and we didn't expect the British to discuss it, and they didn't. It was an act of the United Kingdom which had been discussed and passed in the Canadian Parliament. I am sure that is the relevant point. If Mr. Kershaw is quoted correctly, he fails to understand that.

KEN LAWRENCE (CHCH-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, in light of Alberta's announcement about cutting back oil shipments to the rest of Canada, when you go to Saudi Arabia at the end of next week, are you going to seek some firm, long-term commitments from the Saudi Arabians on future oil shipments?

A. No, that is not my plan. I understand that Petro-Canada is discussing oil imports from various countries. Mexico is one. I think there have been some talks with Saudi Arabia, but I don't expect to see any agreement signed before, during or after my presence. I am not intervening in any way.

Q. Could you tell us the purpose of your visit, then?

A. Well, I guess I am one of the few western leaders who has not visited Saudi Arabia. That country has not been visited by any Canadian Prime Minister ever, nor has Egypt, another country I plan to pay an official visit to. I don't think I have to elaborate on the importance of the Middle East problems, generally, with regard to stability of world politics, and of course, the importance of the Middle East in the energy context. So, it seems self-evident that I should, as soon as I could, accept an invitation that has been extended to Canada from Saudi Arabia. There had been one even before I lost the 1979 election, and one outstanding since I have been re-elected. I found out that this short window, short period of time, is one during which they can receive me, and I am going.

I should add, perhaps, that because of other trips that will be taking place, hopefully, that I plan to discuss with them, very much as I do with others, even on this stop, the question of North-South and the increasing gap between Third-World countries and developed countries.

Since the new OPEC price-setting exercise, I think the figures we saw in Venice are to the effect that all of the OECD countries and development assistance to the third world is only half in a year of what the extent of that third world's indebtedness for energy to the OPEC countries. So, obviously, the importance of involving OPEC nations in the third world, North-South dialogue is very important, is very great.

PAMELA WALLIN (Toronto Star): I have two questions, The first one is: Have you, would you or are you considering dropping the Charter of Rights from the Constitutional package? The second one is unrelated, but in terms of negotiations that are supposedly now back on with Alberta, or at least being discussed, are you confident that they can be successful given the view of the province of Alberta? Alberta's Treasurer, Lou Hyndman, said last week in the Alberta Legislature that the federal government was waging war on three fronts against the provinces: constitutionally, he cited closure; on the energy front, he cited unilateral action; and in terms of social programs, he cited threatened cutbacks in 1982 and cost-shared programs to renegotiate them. Given that view of your actions in the west, do you think these negotations will be successful?

A. That is a rather comprehensive question. What was the first one?

Q. The first one was: Would you or have you or are you considering dropping the Charter of Rights?

A. The past tense is that yes, I considered a movement thout the Charter of Rights, but as far as the present and future are concerned, the answer is no. The Charter of Rights is in our resolution. I have had considerable discussion over it in cabinet and caucus as to whether it should be added or not, and we decided

to add it for reasons that I explained at some length at press conferences and elsewhere.

I am convinced that there would never be an entrenched Charter of Rights. Particularly, there would never be entrenched educational language rights if it weren't done now by the national Parliament the last time, as it were, that we had a possibility of proceeding in this way to amend the Constitution. In other words, once we have a Constitution in Canada, whether it be with the Victoria formula, or any other formula, we will never get anything saying that all Canadians are equal, because there will always be some provinces -- I have seen, as has been demonstrated, that we will have Mr. Peckford saying, "I will only give in if you give me the offshore," and we will have Mr. Lévesque or Mr. Ryan saying, "I will only give in if you give me cultural sovereignty," or whatever it is. Therefore, I think in this last time of going to Britain, with the authority of the House of Commons and the Senate, I think it is important, and so does my cabinet and my caucus, that we should put it in and it is in.

The irony of it is that, as I said in Toronto a couple of nights ago, if we were to fail we know what the result is. I mean, those provinces that are taking us to court and the opposition party which is objecting to this should consider the alternatives. If we fail, who will put themselves on the wrong side of history? It won't be us. We want to have a Canadian Constitution; we want to have an amending formula chosen by

agreement, by the people. We want to have a basic Bill of Rights which guarantees to Canadians that they have their basic values protected everywhere. In that sense, those who not only attack us but don't support us, because they say, "Maybe the Bill of Rights doesn't go far enough." If they succeed in killing the measure, I will have great regrets, but I won't be ashamed of what has been attempted. I think that people who hypothetically might have tried to block it might be ashamed, because there will be another 53 years of deadlock.

The second question had to do with Alberta. You are asking me, I think, if in view of Mr. Hyndman's statements, whether optimistic things could progress. Is that the general tenor of the question?

Q. Whether or not, in the face of opinions and views that they express, you think that there is any serious hope for the negotiations which you have both agreed to have?

A. I suppose that I could go on record by saying that Albertans are seemingly less hysterical than our opposition parties here who are demanding that I see Mr. Lougheed personally. Mr. Broadbent and Mr. Clark were very firm that I should meet Mr. Lougheed, and Mr. Lougheed is rather cool about it. He said, "Well, fine, let's have the officials meet." I don't see any great pressure on him to meet me personally. They want to do it the proper way and see if the ground can be cleared, and we think that is the right approach.

Whether those talks will be successful is something, of course, that I can't predict, but the area of disagreement is not as great as is exaggerated. I can't use the word "hysterical" any more, but the exaggerated predictions of what will happen. It seems to me that the Alberta government has responded rather rationally, as I said in the House. They said, "Well, on the tax we will see if it is legal and constitutional by the courts." And that is fine.

On the tar sands I suspect that they recognize, as the industry does, that our starting price of $38 a barrel was pretty good. It is the world price. The development of the tar sands is important for Canada's self-reliance by the end of the decade, and also it is important to the industrial development of Alberta and the rest of Canada. I can't see that Mr. Lougheed's hesitations on that are not overcomeable by some talks. I am not quite sure of the nature of his objections. He is not precise. You will recall that in his statement he said something about wanting to take a look at royalties. Obviously, if he imposes a punitive royalty that, in spite of our world price concession, prevents the industries from operating, then that is something he will have to answer to.

The only thing is that he doesn't like our price, and he is saying that he might cut down his supply. Well, I think Mr. Lougheed and I realize that public opinion will have a large part to play in the outcome of this whole thing, and that is why we were so careful to ensure that the western producing provinces

would receive under our budget the amount that had been mentioned in Mr. Clark's budget of last December, or Mr. Crosbie's budget, of $40 billion. That is what they will receive by 1984. Obviously they would like more and they will probably try to get more. I don't know how the talks will go.

That is a long answer, but it was a difficult question.

JOHN BURKE (Global): Mr. Prime Minister, on the constitution again, do you think your timetable is realistic? The first day of the Joint Committee was rather acrimonious and partisan and not too productive. Would you consider a request by them to extend their deadline beyond December 9?

A. I honestly don't know why they want to extend the deadline. If it is a stalling device -- and it seems until now that much of the debate has been procedural and acrimonious, and even at the first stage, much of the time was taken up with points of order and procedure, and so on. If I honestly believed that an improvement could be brought to the resolution by extending some deadline, if that were the argument, I am sure I wouldn't embark into any negotiations, but I am sure Mr. Pinard will be talking to the House leaders and asking them what is it they want, one week or one year, and if it is a year, there is no deal, because it seems obvious to anybody looking at it from a strategic point of view, that the game that the Opposition is playing and the opposing provinces are playing is to gain time.

The changes in substance which are proposed can be

put forward in a period of days, not weeks. They can be said yes or no to and negotiated on. Mr. Broadbent did it in 24 hours. We looked at it and we said, "Yes." So, if it is to improve the thing that they need more time, well let's see if more time is needed to improve it. If it is to draw out the debate so that something might turn up, you know, there would be new provincial elections with new players saying we have to start back at square one, or court decisions which say we have to start back at square one, then I think we are being handed a bill of goods by those who opposed it. They think thay they can improve the substance. They probably realize that the people of Canada are in agreement with the substance. Therefore, they are trying to drag the thing out so that something can happen. So, I think your question is hypothetical. If they come to us with a proposal and say, "Look, we want to end the debate too," which has been the position of the NDP actually. In every discussion I had with Mr. Broadbent he thought the thing should be brought to a vote. I am not committing him to any particular deadline, but I think most reasonable people say, "Let's have the thing decided." That's the way most filibusters happen. The Opposition generally finds that it is unsupported on the substance of some particular measure, and it hopes that the passage of time will get the people to say, "Well, move on to something else.If you can't agree on this, why don't you deal with the economy and get off the Constitution?" At some point we will have to get off it, and we will have another 53 years of

debates on the Constitution at the federal-provincial level.

Q. A supplementary on the deadline. Is July 1 still your deadline for declaring the Constitution? If you are successful, would you be considering soon after taking your postponed retirement?

A. I think it is a nice convenient date to have at last our Canadian Constitution proclaimed on Canada Day. I don't see why it couldn't be done before -- no, I am serious. Assuming that the Senate and the House of Commons finish dealing with it sometime around the turn of the year, I can't conceive of the British taking six months to pass it. I mean, it does take up some important section of their parliamentary time, but whether it is taken up in January, February or March, it will be the same amount of time, I presume. Assuming they decide to get it through before Easter, maybe the Day of Resurrection might be a good day to proclaim it.

MICHEL GALAN: AFP.

Après les déclarations de monsieur Reagan hier et celles des dirigeants soviétiques ce matin pour l'anniversaire de la révolution d'Octobre, on semble se diriger plus sur la voie de la guerre froide que sur celle de la détente. Comment voyez-vous le rôle du Canada et donc le vôtre dans l'avenir alors que vous avez défini ce rôle comme celui d'un pont le jour de votre retour au pouvoir?

R. Je dois avouer que je n'ai pas vu la déclaration des dirigeants soviétiques et je ne présume pas qu'il y aura un retour à la guerre froide. La conférence de Madrid prévue pour très bientôt sera au contraire dans le contexte de l'accord de Helsinki, qui est un accord de détente et de coopération. Et le Canada compte y jouer un rôle dans ce sens de préserver toujours vivants les accords de Helsinki et essayer nonobstant les difficultés de part et d'autre de poursuivre dans ce sens plutôt que dans le sens d'un réarmement accru des deux (2) super puissances.

Je pense qu'il est trop tôt de présumer d'un façon certaine de ce que l'administration de monsieur Reagan décidera dans cette direction. Nous savons qu'historiquement les accords du Salt ont progressé autant sous des régimes républicains que démocrates, peut-être même davantage et peut-être que ça peut continuer comme ça. Je parle du désarmement à stratégie, des armes stratégiques.

MICHEL VASTEL- Le Devoir:

Oui, pour continuer sur l'arrivée de monsieur Reagan et des Républicains au Sénat à partir de quelle -- je pense qu'on peut dire que vous n'avez pas la réputation de vous entendre très bien à rebours -- votre politique énergétique d'une part heurte vraiment de front les intérêts américains, par ailleurs votre ministre a écarté catégoriquement et avant même de savoir ce que voulait dire monsieur Reagan, toute discussion sur une intégration du marché nord-américain de l'énergie.

Est-ce que c'est un soudains sursaut d'indépendance nationale aux dépens et même presque contre les Eats-Unis, et si oui finalement pourquoi maintenant et pas il y a cinq (5) ans ou il y a dix (10) ans, puisque vous êtes au pouvoir depuis mil neuf cent soixante huit (1968) ?

R. Il y a quelque chose que vous avez dit qu'il semblait que je ne m'entendais pas avec les Républicains, au début de votre question, j'ai peut-être mal compris votre intention, mais ce n'est pas exact. Je me suis toujours entendu avec les Présidents, qu'ils soient républicains ou démocrates. J'ai toujours dit publiquement que monsieur Nixon, du point de vue du Canada, avait été un bon président. Il avait livré la marchandise sur le traité concernant la

pollution des Grands Lacs, et caetera.

Alors je ne vois aucune raison pourquoi je ne m'entendrais pas avec un Président républicain en tant que tel.

Pour ce qui est de nos politiques, que vous semblez dire, sont plus anti-américaines, pourquoi pas il y a cinq (5) ans ou il y a dix (10) ans ? Mon Dieu, il y a cinq (5) ans ou il y a dix (10) ans, sans doute que nous ne savions pas et personne ne savait que la crise de l'OPEP se produirait et que ça deviendrait extrêmement important pour un pays comme le Canada de devenir maître de sa destinée dans le domaine énergétique.

Maintenant nous l'avons découvert depuis et nous avons cherché un mandat dans la dernière campagne électorale, que nous avons obtenu, pour canadianiser davantage ce secteur. Mais il n'est pas juste de dire que c'est un nouveau sursaut. Le tamisage du FIRA a été institué au début des années soixante-dix (1970) et notre politique des secteurs, à savoir que certains secteurs comme les banques, les communications, les entreprises financières, et caetera, devaient rester en mains canadiennes. Ce ne sont pas des politiques nouvelles.

Alors aux secteurs déjà en place depuis dix (10), quinze (15) ans, nous ajoutons le secteur énergétique d'une certaine façon. Alors ce n'est pas une politique nouvelle, mais l'énergie a une dimension nouvelle dans l'économie moderne et nous découvrons qu'il est important de contrôler nos destinées économiques dans ce domaine-là. Voilà tout.

MARC PEPIN- Broadcast News:

Bon, monsieur le Premier Ministre, hier aux Communes vous avez dit que vous n'aviez pas tenté d'influencer la décision du Comité des députés et des sénateurs libéraux, du Comité sur la Constitution au sujet de la télédiffusion des débats.

Un peu plus tard dans l'apres-midi votre leader en Chambre, monsieur Pinard, disait qu'il était prêt à négocier des arrangements qui pourraient conduire à la télédiffusion.

Je me demande, est-ce qu'il n'y a pas des néo-démocrates derrière ça, puisque ceux-ci semble-t-il sont prêts à vous réitérer leur appui à votre projet constitutionnel, et deuxièmement s'il n'y a pas eu ingérence la première fois, est-ce que ce n'est pas un ingérence que cette soudaine ouverture de monsieur Pinard sur une question qui a déjà été règlée dans le Comité?

R. Et bien, je ne crois pas que monsieur Pinard ait suggéré que nous leur imposerions une décision. Moi je n'étais pas en Chambre quand monsieur Pinard a parlé, mais on s'en est parlé tous les deux (2), et je crois que la position qu'il a tenu c'est que face aux objections si violentes des partis d'opposition, et surtout vu le règlement prononcé par le Président, madame Sauvé, qui est contraire à celui que nous croyions devoir être posé, une responsabilité échoit maintenant à la Chambre de décider.

Et nous croyons sincèrement, et monsieur Pinard l'a démon-

tré dans ses démonstrations, dans ses arguments, que c'était au Comité de prendre leurs responsabilités. Maintenant que c'est à la Chambre de prendre ses responsabilités, il y a comme vous dites un danger d'ingérence. Nous avons décidé d'en discuter et d'annoncer notre position à la prochaine séance de la Chambre, la semaine prochaine dès qu'elle se réunira. Mais je ne sais pas quelle sera la décision.

Je répète que quant à moi et quant au gouvernement, cela nous indifférait. Moi je n'ai pas de préférence pour ou contre. Je reconnais l'importance de la télévision pour que la population en général puisse être saisie des débats, je reconnais en même temps le danger de ce média créant plutôt un forum à spectacle ou une sorte de cirque plutôt que des débats sérieux. Et entre ces deux (2) arguments il faudra que les membres du Comité décident de continuer leur position ou de la renverser.

MARC PEPIN - Broadcast News:

Mais pour les Néo-démocrates, monsieur Trudeau, est-ce que vous n'êtes pas prêt encore une fois à céder pour conserver leur appui ?

R. Ecoutez, je ne placerais vraiment pas ça dans le contexte de l'appui des Néo-démocrates, les Néo-démocrates nous ont opposés sur la clôture et nous opposent maintenant sur le problème de la télédiffusion, ils vont nous opposer sans doute sur un paquet de choses.

Ce que je sais c'est qu'ils nous ont dit qu'ils nous appuie-

raient s'ils avaient tel amendement précis. Et, nous avons dit: oui, si vous nous appuyez nous allons vous donner cet amendement précis. Il n'a jamais été question d'autres choses, sauf comme je le disais tout à l'heure, que monsieur Broadbent m'a dit et monsieur Knowles a dit à monsieur Pinard: nous sommes d'accord avec vous pour que les débats procèdent assez rapidement, que ça ne tourne pas à la foire d'empoigne. Mais il n'y a jamais eu de négociations avec eux sur une date exacte, mais sur l'idée que ça devait sortir assez bientôt ils sont d'accord.

LUBOR ZINK (Toronto Sun): When your government joined the boycott of the Olympic Games, you said other measures would be considered if Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continued. I know we struck a blow for freedom yesterday when Ambassador Pearson did not attend the Red Square Parade. Are there any other measures being taken or considered as a follow-up on the Olympic Games boycott?

Secondly, and a related question, do you find the Friendship Protocol that you signed in 1971 still compatible with what the Soviets are doing on the international scene now, as exemplified by Afghanistan, and with the tightening repression at home, as exemplified by the recent trials of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in the Soviet Union?

A. On the Friendship Accords, I think it is fair to say that they are not compatible with the spirit in which they were signed. I think the consequences have been -- I mean, the present situation is not compatible with the spirit in which they were signed. The situation has been that since Afghanistan there have been no high-level visits. There has not been the kind of exchange of information which used to take place following those Accords whereby, if the Soviets were meeting the French or Chinese or British on some important matter, they would inform us as a matter of courtesy, of the substance of those discussions.

We would do the same if I were to visit the United States, or something, or see a leader of some other country, we would have the Russian Ambassador informed of the discussions. It was trying to keep everybody informed of our reciprocal intentions. So, this has not been taking place.

You ask if we envisage any new measures. There are none envisaged to my knowledge. I do know that the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. MacGuigan, is proposing to bring to cabinet very soon the review of the post-Afghan situation and to take some decisions as to what our relations should be with the Soviet Union, what direction they should move, and so on.

This review has not yet been held, but as soon as it has been held -- and I think that will be very soon -- I will be able to answer you more explicitly if there are any new decisions or measures to be taken.

Q. You mentioned the Chinese. They abrogated their Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union. I was considering your Friendship Protocol in this context. If Communist China finds it necessary to terminate its Friendship Treaty with Moscow, how can you go on maintaining a Friendship Protocol with them?

A. I would say that we are not as violently

anti-Soviet as the Chinese are. There is no question about that. I know very few countries which are. You know, in the aftermath of the Afghanistan invasion, as early as last spring, we had the President of France, the Chancellor of West Germany, the foreign ministers of some Scandinavian countries, and many, many others still meeting with the Soviet leaders even in Moscow or in other places behind the Iron Curtain. I can't remember, but I think there was also some meetings of the Americans. Was it Mr. Muskie or Mr. Vance who went to meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister in Vienna? So, they are not quite as strict as Canada in cutting off relations with the Soviet Union, and we are not quite as strict as the Chinese.

Q. But they don't have a Friendship Accord ---

THE CHAIRMAN: Sorry, Lubor, that is the last question.

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, but they have a hell of a lot of trade.

MICHAEL VALPY (Vancouver Sun): I have two, I hope not hysterical, questions to ask you arising out of ---

A. We'll see!

Q. -- your Regina speech.

In drawing comparisons between current political discontent in Quebec and the west, you said, and I quote:

"... the reasons in Quebec didn't have to do essentially with the sharing of big bucks ..."

A little while later you said:

"And yet even there ---

meaning Quebec

"--separatism has been defeated."

My question is rather obvious, that first of all, the inference is that your assessment of political discontent in the west is that the grievances aren't particularly real, and they essentially have to do with the sharing of big bucks. I want to ask you, sir, if that is the correct inference, number one, and secondly, do you not think that statements such as those might be read as insulting to the west?

A. Well, on the general question of western separatism, I am happy to see that Premier Lougheed and Premier Bennett are now saying exactly what I said, that the chances of western separatism are nil and non-existent. So, in that sense, I can't think that I would have insulted the west by assuming that they would be good Canadians. You look puzzled?

Q. Yes, I wasn't particularly speaking of western separatism. I was referring to your comparison that, number one,

the grievances were real, and number two, that discontent had essentially to do with the sharing of big bucks.

A. If that is the inference, it is an incorrect one, either in the way I stated it, or in the way in which it was heard. I know that there are other grievances in the west. I have heard many times and discussed many times the grievances as regard the fact that there is a certain form of cultural imperialism imposed on the west from, I guess, notably Toronto, through the CBC and other artistic expressions, and there is not enough respect of even the western productions, or at least there wasn't in the past. I don't know if it has been remedied, in terms of the arts, the news, politics and so on.

So, I have alluded many times to the grievance which comes from both the distance and from the fact that, through an accident of politics, the west hasn't as frequently been represented in government as the Oppositions have.

So, there are many grievances. It was perhaps a rather stark way of putting to the westerners that even eastern separatism, or Quebec separatism, which was based on, you know, fights between -- as Durham put it -- two warring nations which go very, very deep and far, and yet they have been defeated when even an woolly question was put to the Quebec people.

Therefore, the western discontent -- even the very questioning this morning indicates -- has more to do with sharing of petro dollars, and certainly that is the grievance which is most apparent in the news. The fight over the dollars.

Those grievances are rather more recent, and I would say those dollar grievances are less profound than the grievances that have to do with the very right to breathe and speak in your own language, which is the Quebec grievance.

One can't say everything in a speech. I must compliment whoever in the Regina Leader Post reported my speech. I read it on the plane the next morning. It had an incredibly good summary of my speech by some unknown journalist.

CRAIG OLIVER: They reprinted the whole thing, almost.

THE PRIME MINISTER: How could they do that, Craig? I mean, I talked for, I suppose, 45-50 minutes, and it was only about the equivalent of one long column and a half. It was spread over the top of the page.

No, the magic of it was that one bright guy had seized the essence of what I was saying and put aside the useless.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Does he want to be a candidate in the next election?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I wish I could remember his name, but he probably doesn't have a chance of winning!

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE
EN ROUTE FROM RIYADH TO JEDDAH, NOVEMBER 17, 1980

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER
MINISTRE EN ROUTE DE RIYAD A DJEDDA, LE 17 NOVEMBRE 1980

(partial transcript)
(transcription partielle)

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Oh, I have very flimsy evidence to be encouraged on. I raised the subject. We discussed it at great length with the Foreign Minister, Prince Saud and with the Finance Minister, I mean separately, the latter for the better part of an hour, and they are cautiously interested. They know all about the north-south. They are already huge donors of the country through the Third World. They don't want to get sucked in and I think rightly so, into something that they don't know where it will lead them. So I don't expect instant success in preparing for the Summit on the north-south item, but I do think that if I see several countries, then get to know them better on a personal basis and get a little movement in one direction from one and a little further movement from another, I think it might add up to something. But I'd be very cautiously optimistic myself. It's a tough time to be trying to improve north-south relations. The industrialized countries are broke or at least are having difficult economic times. The less developed countries are poorer than ever and, as I say, and

many of the OPEC nations are already giving substantial amounts of money and nobody is prepared to move very much. I think what we have to realize is that when we talk of the north-south problem we're talking about a problem of shared power and not only dollars. It's not a matter of giving more money. It's a matter of sharing power in the new world which is developing, and that takes a little bit of time.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well that is the one item that I reinforce consistently and I've told Mr. MacNamara, the outgoing president of the Bank, that we would be prepared to take a lead role in discussing that matter. I told him I would be discussing it here and with other countries and I think that is one area where we can hope for progress. It's only hopes at this stage; no concrete development that I could report on.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, it is a difficulty. They kept saying "You know, why don't you send more ministers? Every other country which is

trading here is sending a lot of ministers, and the head of government is coming repeatedly and every time they come and leave we see contracts to their national (inaudible). I think I would encourage a bit more frequent visits by our ministers to Saudi Arabia, but I have reason to hope that some of the Saudi ministers will be visiting us. They said they would give it very serious attention and I suppose that might be almost as good.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, you know I must report on something else that the businessmen said. There's a lot of fantastic opportunities here. They have to work at them. It takes time. You have to have repeated visits and get yourselves known. And you have to send ministers. So there are fantastic opportunities. But the Canadian businessmen don't seem all that ready to go out and slug in the competitive world markets and they don't take up these opportunities as much as those who are successful here said they should. And this is the old story that I've heard in many countries and it's the story that I frequently hear from our own Minister of Trade and Commerce. You know, they say that the Canadian businessmen, some of them are very good and are prepared to hustle abroad, but most of the others are contented just to cross the border

of the United States and find a familiar market and do it the easy way. So, it's not only a matter for work by government officials and ambassadors and commercial attachés and so on. The Canadian businessmen will have to go out and do it. And, as I say, much of the complaint was that they are not getting out and doing it. They are not hustling like the Koreans, or the French, or the Germans, or the Dutch, or what have you.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. I don't think it can do very much. I had a long discussion with Prince Fahd and with Foreign Minister Saud on this. And I think we share the same objectives. We would like to see peace in the area. We think that this means the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. We think this means not proceeding with the new settlements. We think this means not opening embassies in Jerusalem, but we also think it means ensuring the security and the territorial integrity of Israel. And once we've said that - and also we think that it means finding

a solution to the Palestinian problem, a solution where they would have a territorial base through their autonomy. These are the objectives. These are the principles. How do you get there is something I'm afraid we can't be very helpful on. You know we supported the Camp David talks. We thought that that was a good initiative but it doesn't seem to be producing much. I can't see offhand how internationalizing the problem and going to a large meeting in Geneva would solve it. The essence of the problem I guess is to be able to guarantee to Israel that it can live securely in the Middle East and that it can become part of the neighbourhood, to use (inaudible) words, but I'm sure most Israelis want that too. So, I'm sorry I can't be more helpful, but to say that we share the same objectives...

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, I'd want to at least at this stage be more modest and to say that I want to take a leading role, if things work well I'll try and get credit for it, but at this stage I just happen to be the convenor of the next Summit and I know that north-south will be an important item on the agenda, and I would like to see some measure of progress at the Ottawa Summit. So in that sense I haven't got any bright new ideas or initiatives that might lead. I think Canada is prepared to do a fair amount

of things, new things - one of which was announced either yesterday or today in Ottawa, but as I was saying to the first question: I don't think bilateral increased aid is really the solution to the much deeper underlying problem of the gap between the north and the south. You know, it's not a matter of just handing over more money. It's a matter of sharing power in the economic institutions and sharing technology and then - sharing political power too, and this is... To get back to your question about tariffs... The quotas we have put on have been negotiated with the countries on whom we imposed them. It's not something that was done arbitrarily. The more developed of the developing countries themselves understand that there is a point where if they are too disruptive to the economies of the developed nations that they would make less progress than more. They would be shut out completely. So it's a matter of making slow progress in all those areas. And many industrialized nations, like ourselves, have built up a large secondary sector employing a lot of people in areas as you say, like textiles, clothing, shoes and so on, which ultimately can be better served probably by newly developing countries. But it is a matter of giving the more developed ones time to adjust and turn over. I saw it was a matter of degree rather than of disagreement and on principle.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. No, I don't know how we will act on this recent textile report, but you're merely seeing the difficulty and it is there. There's nothing I can do to alleviate it. And we have in the textile, for instance, as you probably know, various provisions to modernize them, to have early retirement or more efficient ways of using the labour force, of shipping labour force in other more highly developed areas, but we're talking in a period of economic history when even the industrialized nations have/seen their growth rate reduced to close to zero and who are suffering from high unemployment and high inflation at the same time. These are all things I don't have to tell you about and therefore it's a difficult time to make progress and that was why I answered my first answer by saying it's not easy to think that we can solve these north-south problems now. It's probably the most difficult time in our history, but I still think it has to be done.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, you see if a one-to-one deal merely means that we are...

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN CAIRO, NOVEMBER 22, 1980.

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU CAIRE, LE 22 NOVEMBRE 1980

Well, maybe to indicate that I am very grateful, Mr. President, that you have accepted to receive me at such a short notice.

You have, as you said, been invited to Canada. You will always be welcome. We have discussed before by telephone, but I was very pleased that you accepted to receive me and to discuss in detail the past, the present and the future of the Camp David accord. We have always supported you in the Camp David process. From the very first, we thought that you had made a very brave and courageous gesture for peace when you went to Israel and we have attempted in a modest way to support your efforts.

Following our discussion this morning, I think I would want to say that in the future, now that I know your secret thoughts, I am on the same wave length as you say and I am sure the Canadian Government and Canadian people will continue to wish you well in the pursuit of peace in the Middle East and the pursuit of discussions between yourself and the Government of Israel.

In bilateral matters, I am happy we have no problems. We did not find the need to tackle any difficulties between ourselves, but I was glad also to have the occasion to raise with you and particularly with your Minister Ghali during the past days, the role that all of us must attempt to play in looking for more justice between the North and the South, between the developed and the less developed countries.

So thank you very much for your hospitality.

Q. How would you define that significantly increased Canadian role in the Middle East that His Excellency was referring to?

A. I think President Sadat stated as well as I could when he pointed out that we were friends with Israel and we intend to remain friends with Israel and we are friends with Egypt. And I told you, I believe, yesterday or the day before that we don't have any magic solutions. We don't have great military or economic might, but we think that understanding is important. We think that Canada can,by speaking its mind as it has in the United Nations and in our direct relations with Arab nations and with Israel, exercises some modest influence in bringing the sides closer together.

Q. Any idea when Mr. President will be visiting Canada?

A. He said he would not be able to consider any visit before the spring, but after that he will look for a date. And he is welcome at any time. We have not exchanged any further dates.

Q. Did you discuss with President Senghor the Dakar meeting and at what level Quebec will join this meeting?

A. Vous parlez français? Oui, nous avons parlé de la réunion des ministres des Affaires étrangères à Dakar et pour ce qui est de la position du Président Senghor vous devriez lui demander à lui-même. Quant à notre position, elle est très claire. C'est une réunion des ministres des Affaires étrangères. Seul le Canada comme pays souverain peut parler à l'étranger avec une voix, et c'est le gouvernement central qui s'exprime dans les questions internationales au nom de tout le Canada; mais comme dans d'autres réunions, nous avons indiqué que nous étions préparés à examiner une formule de souplesse où dans la délégation canadienne il y aurait un représentant des éléments francophones canadiens - c'est-à-dire surtout des éléments québécois et en deuxième lieu des éléments du Nouveau-Brunswick où il y a également une forte proportion de francophones.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, would the exercising of the Canadian modest influence in the Middle East situation be merely a speaking out of minds in the normal process of events or would it be something more formal, a more formalized process?

A. No, I'm afraid that it would be something more in the line of the first of your hypotheses. It's not out of modesty but more out of realism that we realize that we cannot

have a great influence. But I'm sure that Israel is sensitive, as they have told us before, to the position the Canadian Government takes in speaking its mind either in private with Israel or in public at the United Nations or in the Canadian Parliament. And this, I think, will be the extent of our role. I've said it many times before, that in this day and age, the countries with the mightiest military forces are sometimes incapable because of the strength of those forces to influence the course of events and it can be the role of lesser nations to use their influence through ideas and persuasion.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, have you touched upon the effect of Mr. Reagan's election on the Middle East with President Sadat

A. We discussed it as I'm sure it is the current subject of discussion in many countries. I have stated before and so has my Minister of External Affairs, that we know we will have good relations with the new administration. We have always sought good relations with the American government, whether they be democratic or republican. And I have had experience with presidents of both parties and I'm confident that we will have good relations with the Reagan administration. What role he will play in the international fora? I don't know. It will depend a great deal, I suppose, on decisions taken in the next few months and on the advisers he chooses in those particular areas. I told President Sadat that I imagined

that the new administration would not want to use at least the geography and name nomenclature of Camp David, but that I was rather convinced that they would want to build on the groundwork which has been laid in the past by Premier Begin and President Sadat, and that I did not think they would want to proceed,at least at this stage,in a multinational forum, but they would want to try to continue the process which has been begun bilaterally between the Israeli Government and the Egyptian Government with the United States as a helper.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, yesterday you said you would be discussing the Iran-Iraq War with President Sadat. Would you tell us more about the discussions on that subject

A. Well, the rule I follow here is that you should ask President Sadat what he told me about the Iran-Iraq War. I don't think it is right for me to try and render his thoughts in his absence.

Q. Prime Minister, while maintaining Canada's strong commitment to Israel, can we expect our policy to be a little more vigorous in the future in condemning Israeli settlements on the West Bank and (inaudible) Israel withdrawal?

A. Well, I don't know if we can be more vigorous. We have been,at least our government has been very forthcoming and clear in that condemnation of the settlements, and clear in its espousal of the Resolution 242 which calls for a withdrawal from the occupied territories. And of course, our position on Jerusalem is very clear. And it was, as you know, the subject even of an electoral debate in this second from last election. So we spoke about that in the election many times, that it was a mistake to try to solve unilaterally as Israel attempted the Jerusalem question. And I don't know that we can be more forthcoming than that.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, have you discussed by any chance any early elections in Israel and its effects on the peace process?

A. Well, I think everyone who is in politics always speculates about what's going to happen in the elections - either one's own or one's interlocutors. And I guess the answer is yes, we know there must be an election held in Israel before the end of 81. And I guess it's part of everyone's strategy to say if it is a labour government,what shall we do and if it is Mr. Begin's government,what shall we do? So, we talked about this.

Q. And have you touched upon President Sadat's views that full autonomy will be realized by 1981, the end of 1981?

A. No, he has mentioned the period of two to three years as you point out. Opposition is not tied to a specific date. We are convinced that peace cannot come without a solution to the Palestinian problem. And that includes a territorial solution involving notably the west bank and Gaza. This is the Canadian Government's position, but once again we are not part of the negotiations and therefore we are not in any position to make a prediction as regards deadlines or dates.

Q. ..(inaudible) Il y a en des rencontres entre des diplomate canadiens et des dirigeants de l'OLP au printemps dernier au Proche-Orient et que ces contacts-là ont été suspendus. Il n'y a pas eu d'autres contacts depuis. Est-ce qu'il y a une politique canadienne qui interdit les contacts entre des diplomates canadiens et des représentants de l'OLP? Quelle est votre politique là-dessus?

A. Je suis surpris. Vers quelle date ont eu lieu ces contacts?

Q. Au mois de mars.

A. Ah, c'était avant que je forme le gouvernement. Après? Après le 4 mars par conséquent...

Q. Oui, c'était fin mars, début avril.

A. Eh bien, je devrai me renseigner. Je n'étais pas au courant de ces contacts. Sans doute qu'aux Nations Unies ou en d'autres endroits...

Q. Au Proche-Orient.

A. Vous me pourriez me dire que j'ai eu un contact moi aussi avec l'OLP puisque j'ai serré la main à son représentant quand j'ai rencontré les représentants diplomatiques à Sana'a il y a quelques jours. Mais je ne considère pas que c'est...

Q. Non, mais est-ce qu'on a une politique là-dessus. C'est-à-dire...

A. Oui, pour le moment la politique est de ne pas reconnaître l'OLP.

Q. De ne pas avoir de contacts avec l'OLP?

A. Mon Dieu...

Q. Des conversations avec des gens ...

A. Non, à ce moment il n'y a pas dé dialogue. Qu'il y ait des contacts physiques sociaux, je n'y vois pas d'objection,

mais il n'y a pas de dialogue entre le Canada et l'OLP à l'heure actuelle.

Q. And what is it that would make it necessary for you to start a dialogue with the PLO?

A. Well, I would have to be sure that it does not destroy our friendship with Israel. They are very sensitive in this and Canada has attempted to play a balance role. I have said publicly that I cannot impose on the Palestinians the choice of their interlocutors. I have no objection if they want to choose the PLO nor could I have any objection as their spokesman. But we have no official contact with the Palestinian people. We are not negotiating either with Israel or Egypt or the Palestinians and therefore there is no need for us to recognize any particular negotiator. But once again, I don't want this to be interpreted as saying that the Palestinians can't choose whom they want. They can choose whom they want to talk for them. It is a matter for Israel and Egypt to know if they want to sit down with the PLO. And who am I to advise ?

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN PARIS, NOVEMBER 24, 1980

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A PARIS, LE 24 NOVEMBRE 1980

David Halton: CBC:

Q. Prime Minister, have you reached any agreement with the French President on Dakar and the Francophone Summit? Do you feel the President now accepts your views that Canada should speak with one voice in foreign affairs?

A. Halton, you have a knack for just getting into the secondary questions, don't you? I met with the President for an hour and I think we talked for all of five minutes on Dakar and the role of Quebec. I don't know what his position will eventually be. I explained to him the situation and I said that one of the mistakes most currently made, in France and in other places, is to say Quebec must be represented at Dakar in some way, to which of course there's a very simple answer you would know. The Province of Quebec speaks through its provincial government when we're dealing with civil law or with (inaudible) civil rights or with education matters, but the people of Quebec speak through their national government when they're dealing with international

questions, with international meetings and so on. So Quebec will be present at Dakar, it will be present through some federal ministers and, if it wants, we have proposed a solution where we would also have in the federal delegation some provincial officials from Quebec and perhaps from New Brunswick. But Canada speaks with one voice internationally and that voice is the voice of all the provinces - Quebec, Alberta, New Brunswick and so on. So that's what I explained to the President and how it will be received I can't predict... I'm sure...

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Bien, elles sont correctes à l'intérieur du cadre constitutionnel. Je continue de diriger un gouvernement qui parle au nom de l'ensemble des Canadiens et M. Lévesque continue de diriger un gouvernement qui parle au nom de l'ensemble des Québécois. Dans son cas, c'est de plus en plus douteux puisqu'il accumule défaite électorale sur défaite électorale dans les élections partielles, mais enfin jusqu'aux élections générales et jusqu'à un changement possible au gouvernement, M. Lévesque est la voix autorisée pour parler au nom du gouvernement québécois dans toutes les questions qui touchent à la juridiction québécoise, c'est-à-dire le droit civil, c'est-à-dire les questions d'éducation et de santé, c'est-à-dire la construction des routes, etc. Et le gouvernement canadien continue de parler au nom de tous les Canadiens y compris les Québécois dans les questions internationales - qu'il s'agisse de sommet économique / comme il y en aura un au mois de

juillet au Canada et où le Québec sera représenté par moi-même et comme toutes les provinces seront représentées par le gouvernement.

Q. (Inaudible)

la francophonie?

A. Oui, quoi.../ Bien comme disait cet Anglais, je suis du Québec.

Q. John Ferguson, C.P.: (Inaudible)

A. Quite honestly, I'm not speaking of any particular formula at this time. What I have pointed out to them was that when we want to deal with international economic questions we have created something called the Economic Summit which will meet next July in Ottawa, which met last June in Venice and so on. And we attempt to embark in various forms of crisis management by saying: Well, this is the way our economies are directed; this will be the effect of the OPEC increases; this is the cost to us of the non recycling of petro dollars and so on. And we try to manage the economic situation by having created that formula. It was created by President Giscard at Rambouillet, I think around 1975 or 1976, and it has continued, I think with a surprising amount of success, since then. What I pointed out to them is that we have not done the same in the political crises, in managing the political crises, and of course the most obvious example is Afghanistan.

All of us wanted to show how strongly we condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, how we were united in saying that it couldn't continue and shouldn't be repeated if détente is going to take place and so on. But rather than do that, we managed to compound the tragedy of the invasion of Afghanistan by showing that the West was completely divided on that. And we had some countries boycotting the Olympics, and some others restricting their wheat sales, and some others breaking the embargos, and some interrupting high-level visits, and others continuing the high level visits. And what I was saying is that this should be an example to us that the international political environment should be managed with as much and perhaps more caution and importance than the international economic environment. So, let us find a formula. And I'm not trying to impose any. The suggestions you've made are some amongst many that could be used to meet these difficulties. And these difficulties, we've seen them in the past year and it's predictable that we will see more. I mean, what will happen in the Gulf states if the Iran-Iraq war doesn't finish, what will happen in the Middle East if the Camp David process is interrupted and what will it be replaced by? What will happen in Poland if there are new difficulties which seem almost bound to arise in the coming months because of the economic weakness of the Polish Government? Will they be able to carry out the promises and meet the requests put forward by the unions and the workers and the consumers? You know, these are questions that we have to address ourselves to. And I was just raising the

problem with Chancellor Schmidt and with President Giscard and asking that before the next Economic Summit in July that we all arm ourselves with some answers. And I don't think it's appropriate now to go into any detail on the various ones that I have in mind.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Je ne pense pas que sur les questions vraiment substantielles que le Canada soit aussi important comme interlocuteur que la France ou que l'Allemagne ou que l'Angleterre ou que le Japon. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez, on est un pays moins puissant que ceux-là. Peut-être sur le plan psychologique, le plan de la compréhension de ces voisins de toujours que sont les Etats-Uniens. Il se peut que nous puissions les interpréter et les comprendre mieux. Mais c'est un fort modeste rôle. Sur la substance, ce qui prévaudra, ce ne seront pas les questions de voisinage. Ce qui prévaudra ce sera je pense la puissance des solutions que nous aurons les uns les autres à proposer. Alors, je ne vois pas un rôle accru pour le Canada pour répondre directement à votre question.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, there again, what I'm trying to put into circulation is the notion that we must go beyond increasing our foreign development aid, international development aid to

.7 of 1 per cent and so on. You know what I want to convey is that the developing nations are not asking merely for more money or for more technical assistance. They really want to share some of the power that in fact they exercise by mere numbers in the world. And this power they can exercise in a sense at the United Nations by their numbers, by their presence on the Security Council, by voting for or against certain resolutions. But these powers which exist in these examples do not exist in the IMF, in the World Bank, in other international economic institutions. I'm not saying that we should suddenly multiply the number of people sitting on those things. I'm saying that we should be looking perhaps -- I gave one good example because it wasn't of my invention, it's MacNamara's idea of an energy affiliate of the World Bank -- perhaps rather than having just an office of the World Bank trying to help the less developed countries develop their energy resources, perhaps it should be something aside with a different voting pattern with different representatives on it with perhaps a greater number of the LEC's (less developed countries) on the board of it and perhaps a greater participation in terms of funds by the OPEC nations. So that's an example of changing structures so that there be a greater power, a greater (inaudible) given to those many countries of the world who are less developed.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Eh bien, je vous réponds un peu comme j'ai répondu au Président lorsqu'il posait le problème et d'ailleurs M. Raymond Barre hier soir quand on a eu un long entretien. Si je peux le dire sans leur faire injure, ils ont fait la même erreur que vous avez faite dans votre question et que la plupart des Français font: le Québec sera-t-il représenté à Dakar? Le Québec peut-il s'entendre avec vous etc. Mais le Québec c'est qui? C'est quoi le Québec? Il y a des gens qui habitent la Province de Québec et qui élisent tantôt un gouvernement provincial qui parle dans toutes les questions de juridiction provinciale, c'est-à-dire le droit civil, l'aménagement des ressources, la construction des routes, le développement des écoles et de l'éducation etc. Et les Québécois parlent par la voix du gouvernement fédéral lorsqu'il s'agit de relations internationales, lorsqu'il s'agit de (inaudible) lorsqu'il s'agit du droit pénal, etc. Alors quand vous dites le Québec sera-t-il présent à Dakar? Oui, si Dakar a lieu au sommet, le Québec sera présent. Il sera présent par la voix de son gouvernement autorisé, c'est-à-dire en l'occurrence le gouvernement national, le gouvernement canadien, parce qu'en vertu de la constitution, le Québec, encore une fois, non seulement il parle comme l'Alberta, comme le Nouveau-Brunswick, par le gouvernement national, mais il se trouve que par un accident politique, il y est extrêmement fortement représenté en ce gouvernement national. Le gouvernement canadien qui le dirige est composé, sauf erreur, d'une majorité québécoise ou en tout cas pas mal près de la moitié. Le gouvernement que je dirige a

obtenu 67,8 des voix aux élections nationales dans le Québec. Ce qui est beaucoup plus que M. Lévesque ou aucun dirigeant provincial québécois n'ait jamais reçu, enfin si ma mémoire est bonne.

Alors le Québec c'est qui? Le Québec, dans les questions internationales, c'est mon gouvernement. Et vous me demandez s'il sera présent à Dakar. Oui, si nous sommes à Dakar le Québec sera présent comme d'ailleurs le Nouveau-Brunswick sera présent parce que nous y serons - nous, le gouvernement canadien.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Ecoutez, j'ai vu le président Senghor samedi matin. Je lui ai dit quant à nous, nous souhaitions le sommet. Nous souhaitions d'abord la réunion des ministres des Affaires étrangères des pays intéressés à la francophonie. Il se trouvait qu'il y a au Canada un ministre des Affaires étrangères qui fait partie du gouvernement national, du gouvernement canadien. Il n'y en a pas de ministre des Affaires étrangères dans les gouvernements provinciaux parce que constitutionnellement ils n'ont pas le droit de s'en occuper, pas plus que j'ai un ministre qui s'occupe des droits civils. Alors j'ai dit ça à Senghor et il m'a dit: "Je comprends." C'est le droit public canadien qu'il faut respecter. Et j'espère que la France aura le même point de vue, mais je n'ai pas essayé de résoudre le problème. Ce qui est certain c'est que nous Canadiens et jusqu'à nouvel

ordre les Canadiens, ça inclut les Québécois aussi bien que les Ontariens, etc. Nous, Canadiens, nous aimerions un sommet pour les raisons que j'ai dit tout à l'heure: parce que nous croyons qu'il est bon qu'il y ait des dialogues entre personnes qui peuvent s'entendre et se parler dans la même langue comme ça été dans le sommet du Commonwealth. Or, nous croyons au sommet, nous croyons qu'il doit avoir lieu. Nous croyons qu'il faut le préparer mais qu'il faut le préparer dans le respect des juridictions des participants. Mais jamais nous ne songerions à dire au Président Senghor : "Et bien,lorsque vous serez au sommet, il faudra que vous fassiez venir tel ou tel chef de tel district ou de telle province dans votre pays." Et nous n'attendons pas moins des autres participants au sommet, qu'ils ne viennent pas nous dire comment notre délégation canadienne sera composée. Ceci dit, nous avons proposé au gouvernement de la Province de Québec de joindre à notre délégation canadienne des fonctionnaires du Québec, du Nouveau-Brunswick et d'autres provinces qui seraient intéressées à la francophonie comme le gouvernement canadien l'est. Dans la loi canadienne, et bientôt j'espère dans la Constitution canadienne, le Canada est un pays bilingue comme je suppose l'Algérie est un pays bilingue, comme le Sénégal est un pays à plusieurs langues dont une est le français. Alors le Canada est un pays bilingue et le Canada veut être présent au sommet. Qui sera membre de la délégation? Ce sera à nous, gouvernement canadien, de le dire.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. I've never been able in the past and I don't think I can now answer hypothetical job offers. When I'm retired which is a big "if" and if I get a big offer such as you suggest which is a big "when", I'll see. But if you're asking my own feelings, when I get out of politics, which is a pretty time consuming job, it won't be to take another time consuming job. It'll be to spend more time reading poetry and walking in the woods with my kids. So it's unlikely that I would want to take any big international job. Would I want to continue thinking about the subject? I hope so and perhaps speaking or writing about it, but not working on a full time basis at it.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Non, nous n'avons pas parlé de la visite de M. Lévesque, ni avec M. Barre ni avec le Président Giscard.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. C'est une bonne question. A vrai dire, nous avons parlé pendant sept heures de plusieurs sommets: du sommet Brandt, du sommet de juillet et j'ai dit qu'ilfaudrait que nous parlions aussi du sommet francophone dans (inaudible) .

Si je peux dire, j'ai établi l'ordre du jour de cette manière, parce que je voulais parler de l'importance de

de consultations dans tous les domaines. Mais à la fin de la rencontre, cinq minutes avant de prendre congé, le Président a dit: "Il faut bien que je vous pose quelques questions à propos de vos attitudes à la Conférence de Dakar et comment entendez-vous représenter le Canada et le Québec?" Et j'ai fait mon petit propos que je viens de vous faire à propos du Québec. Mais j'ai eu la même malice que vous et j'ai dit: Oui, en fait, la France; qui parlera au nom des Français là? Cette question est restée sans réponse. Je pense que ce sera le gouvernement français qui enverra ses représentants, s'ils veulent les envoyer.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, I'm trying to organize the summit in July which is to take place in Canada and I have taken the decision that in order to prepare it, I would try and do as much advance work as I could personally. And that means talking as much as I can to several of the leaders who will be represented or present at the Economic Summit. And because we know that one of the important items on the agenda will be the North-South dialogue , I'm also attempting to visit countries who are members of the southern group, if I could put it that way, members of the less developed countries. So France is obviously one of the leading of the industrialized democracies and I, not only wanted to see it, but I think it was important that perhaps I meet again if I have anything new to say in a few months' time.

And President Giscard d'Estaing and I have said what I've said also with Chancellor Schmidt. But if things developed that I have to come and see them again, would they receive me and the President said: "Of course, if I'm... I think the next President of the Republic, whoever he is, should see you if the situation calls for it." So it's more a matter of not singling out any one country but seeing as many as I can and still try to fulfill my duties in Canada. France, as you say, is sometimes original in its approach to some of these subjects and seems to stick out. Well, that's France, I mean they don't fall into too many clichés - the one in Quebec is an exception. But they like to think for themselves and I think that's an interesting way of doing things. And I have great respect for the mental processes of the French people and government.

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PLEASE FIND ATTACHED THE FIRST FIVE PAGES OF THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5 WHICH WERE OMITTED BY ERROR. WE REGRET THIS OVERSIGHT.

December 10, 1980

VEUILLEZ TROUVER CI-JOINT LES CINQ PREMIERES PAGES DE LA TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE DU 5 DECEMBRE. NOUS VOUS PRIONS D'EXCUSER CETTE OMISSION.

le 10 décembre 1980

LE PRESIDENT: Alors le premier ministre n'a pas de déclaration, il va répondre immédiatement à vos questions.

DENIS LABRECQUE, Télémedia: Monsieur le premier ministre, l'Ambassade de France à Ottawa a publié un communiqué hier soir où elle indique que selon elle le but premier du sommet de Dakar c'était de jeter les bases d'une communauté organique pour le développement des échanges culturels et elle ajoute: " Il n'était donc pas question d'y traiter des grand problèmes internationaux."

Alors partant de là, est-ce qu'il n'était pas prématuré pour votre gouvernement de refuser au Québec une représentation ministérielle à Dakar en invoquant les buts et objectifs d'un organisme, buts et objectifs qui, semble-t-il, restent encore à déterminer officiellement?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: Lorsque j'ai discuté à plusieurs reprises de ce problème avec le président Senghor, qui est l'auteur de cette idée d'un sommet francophone, il a toujours été question d'en faire un forum où les chefs de gouvernement des pays partiellement ou entièrement de langue française discuteraient des problèmes internationaux dans une manière absolument libre.

Alors c'est dans ce contexte-là que le président Senghor envisageait la conférence, c'est dans ce contexte-là que nous y avons indiqué notre intérêt, comparant cela un peu au Commonwealth où des pays libres discutent de la situation mondiale, sur le plan politique, sur le plan économique, et également de questions culturelles, mais pas en premier chef, pas au premier chef.

C'est ça le sommet francophone tel que vu par le président Senghor et tel qu'accepté par nous-mêmes et je pense par la plupart des autres pays.

Alors je n'ai pas plus que ça à dire sur la déclaration de l'Ambassade de France s'il en est une, c'est certainement un autre sommet dont ils parlent.

ROLAND GAUDETTE, R.-C.I. : Monsieur le premier ministre, j'aimerais vous poser deux (2) questions: d'abord en ce qui concerne la situation en Pologne.

A la lumière de la déclaration d'hier du chef du gouvernement de la Pologne à l'effet qu'il pourrait faire appel à l'aide soviétique, j'aimerais savoir si à la lumière de ces nouveaux développements votre gouvernement a l'intention de poser un geste ou de faire une déclaration formelle et publique?

Aussi en deuxième lieu sur la question du Salvador, j'aimerais savoir, puisque la situation se détériore au Salvador, semble-t-il, si votre gouvernement a l'intention de poser encore là un geste ou de faire une déclaration, je crois qu'il a été question notamment de la possibilité d'envoyer un des ambassadeurs du Canada dans l'un des pays voisins pour

vérifier la situation.

Je me demandais si vous pourriez faire quelques commentaires là-dessus.

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: Je regrette pour le Salvador je ne suis pas au courant, je ne peux pas répondre. Je sais qu'il y a des troubles dans ce pays et en Amérique Centrale généralement, mais je ne suis pas au courant de cette démarche dont vous parlez, il faudrait vous en remettre à monsieur McGuigan.

Pour ce qui est de la Pologne, c'est un développement auquel il fallait peut-être s'attendre un peu, que le parti communiste qui est en selle là, parle de faire appel au grand frère soviétique, mais c'est un gouvernement légitime et je ne pense pas que nous puissions faire une protestation contre cela pour le moment. Il s'agira de voir ce qui est demandé et ce qui est donné.

Je regrette, là encore, je ne peux pas ajouter quoi que ce soit à ce que j'ai dit à la Chambre des communes hier, que ce qui est important pour nous surtout, c'est de nous assurer que la réponse des pays démocratiques soit coordonnée et ne soit pas un sujet de division comme ça a été le cas au moment de l'Afghanistan, et comme ça a été le cas aussi au moment des otages de Téhéran.

ROLAND GAUDETTE, R.-C.I.: A la suite de cette déclaration des dirigeants de la Pologne, la France a offert d'aider financièrement, économiquement la Pologne dans la mesure du possible, puisque vous avez soulevé cette question

à la Chambre des communes hier, est-ce que votre gouvernement serait prêt aussi à s'engager dans la même ligne?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: J'ai soulevé cela hier, justement pour indiquer à quel point nous risquions comme pays de l'Ouest de nous montrer aussi partagés dans la réponse à des événements hypothétiques en Pologne que nous l'avons été à la suite des événements en Afghanistan. C'est un sujet à discuter, c'est un sujet dont j'ai précisément discuté avec le président de la France et avec le chancelier de l'Allemagne.

Mais encore une fois, comme je l'ai indiqué hier, mes efforts pour le moment consistent à essayer de coordonner nos réponses plutôt que chacun partir de son bord. Et si je vous répondais ce matin ce que le Canada veut faire ou si nous décidions aujourd'hui de faire quelque chose sans consulter nos alliés, je pécherais par là-même où je reproche aux pays de l'Occident d'avoir péché au moment de l'envahissement, de l'invasion de l'Afghanistan.

GILBERT LAVOIE, La Presse : Monsieur le premier ministre, selon les agences de presse ce matin, Londres vous aurait prévenu de l'impossibilité d'étudier votre projet de rapatriement de la constitution avant l'automne prochain si ledit projet n'est pas à Londres avant la fin de février.

Qu'en est-il exactement?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: L'on m'assure de toutes parts, tant ici que de Londres que cette nouvelle est fausse. Londres ne m'a informé de rien de tel.

Q. Est-ce à dire que vous maintenez toujours votre objectif du premier juillet?

R. Oui, ça a toujours été un objectif souhaitable. J'ai indiqué que si ça se pouvait se faire avant c'était mieux, mais le premier juillet semble être une bonne date.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE AT
THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE IN OTTAWA, DECEMBER 5, 1980.

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE
AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE A OTTAWA, LE 5 DECEMBRE 1980

GARY ALDRIDGE (CBC Radio) Mr. Prime Minister, you indicated in the last few weeks a readiness to consider changes to section 42, in particular, of the Constitution Resolution at your news conference in Regina, and then you responded to Premier Davis. You also said here a few weeks ago that in an ideal world you would have preferred the Toronto amending formula for a Canadian Constitution.

I am wondering if there is any possibility that you would ever consider dropping the referendum power in section 42 altogether in exchange for the Toronto amending formula because,with six of the ten provinces required to approve any amendment under that formula, it would not be a case of one or two provinces holding out despite the will of the majority.

A. The idea of the referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism is very basic to my whole concept of a Canadian Constitution. I hold that when politicians cannot agree, whether that be the fault of the federal or provincial politicians, is of no importance in my argument, but when they can't agree, and the proof has been made that they could not agree for 53 years -- and I don't expect the politicians of the future to be any more perfect -- I hold that there must be a recourse to the

sovereign people where, in the democracy, there is no other source of authority than the people. Legally, the source of authority now is Great Britain. We are trying to change that and to make us, even in the legal sense, completely independent. When we have become completely independent, then we cannot afford the kind of deadlock which has existed for 53 years in this country on the simple question of patriation. We have to have recourse to somebody or someone or something.

As I indicated in an earlier press conference, the only source of authority that I can imagine can break deadlocks is the sovereign people.

PETER LLOYD (CTV): Mr. Prime Minister, this is slightly repetitious to a question asked in French, but on the question of July 1, do you believe that you can still do that regardless of whether the report from London is accurate, with the committee reporting now on February 6 as opposed to next Tuesday?

Are you again contemplating, or are you more prepared to contemplate the imposition of closure, if necessary, to get it out so that the British get it in time for consideration and so that they can get it through by July 1?

A. Well, we have just indicated by our flexibility in accepting an extended deadline for the committee report that we didn't like the idea of closure. We sought consent of all parties and obtained it to this new deadline. We thought the deadline was too far to be realistic. We don't think it was a good compromise, but because the opposition parties have taken the view that, apparently to them, the essential part of the debate would be at the committee stage, we have accepted that deadline. So, I don't want to envisage closure now at a time when we have just shown that the closure which had been imposed for the 9th of December was not one that we held to, and we got consent to a new date. I hope that will be the case for the final stage.

Q. A supplementary: Is it fair to say that you would rather miss the July 1 deadline than have to use closure again?

A. I don't think the July 1 deadline is magical. As I say, I would prefer an earlier deadline. I realize that the British have problems of keeping their own Parliament working and functioning in an efficient way, and we have to respect that. I am surprised to hear that they have a four-months vacation. I don't know if that is true, but if we had that here, I am sure we would be blamed for not working hard enough. Therefore, the deadline to bring the Constitution

back is not a specific day for me. It is to get out of this mess we have been in for 53 years, and I think that calls for determination and calls for moving ahead with due diligence because I know that the opponents of the project are relying not on the righteousness of their cause because they know that the people want patriation and that they want the protection of their fundamental rights. The opponents of the project are relying on the old tactic of procrastination and are saying, "If we can keep this thing hanging around for long enough, then the people will get fed up with parliamentarians discussing this and will say, 'Please move on to other important things such as the econonmy, the energy program, world affairs, and so on.'" That is the kind of deadline I have in mind -- to get it done before the people throw up their hands once again and say, "What a stupid bunch of 'no-nos' these parliamentarians are. They have not managed for 53 years, and they are managing again to show that they cannot do it for the next 53 years. Let's pass on to something else." That is the kind of deadline I have in mind.

GAYLE MORRIS(CFCF-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, I am going to get a little philosophical here for a second because I think it is fundamental to where we appear to be going in the constitutional debate.

In 1762, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "Le Contrat Social", he said: "By what inconceivable art has a means been found of making men free by making them subjects?". It appears that the Charter of Rights addresses that kind of question by attempting to lump into a group some of those things that would help ensure given freedoms of the population.

At the moment a lot of people have appeared before the Constitutional Committee; a lot of people have found loopholes in various sections of the Resolution. I am wondering how far you would be willing to go, and in what areas you might be willing to be flexible in terms of changing some of these things at the moment.

A. Well, I think that the general opinion is -- though I rely on you as much as on my own reading of the committee - but I think the fact is that most people who have appeared before the committee on the charter subject have tried to improve it. Some have said that the basic entrenchment of fundamental rights is a good thing. Unfortunately, because they found loopholes or weaknesses in it, the news has been that the charter has been rejected or criticized by A,B,C,D,E,F,G.My information is that most people want an entrenched charter. They just want to improve it. To them I say two things: The first is that we want to improve it. We have amendments to improve it. We remind you that much of the improvements sought are things that we had in the original charter last summer, which was discussed,

and they were removed because many of the provincial governments said that they wanted them removed because they were entrenching the charter in a way which would cause trouble to the administration of justice, and in an effort of reconciliation, we watered down the charter a little bit to get some provinces on board.

Now, if they want us to take the water out of our watered-down version, we will do so, and Mr. Chrétien is prepared to put forth a whole series of amendments to that effect. The danger we must avoid is to go much beyond what the provincial administrators of justice find as practical to administer because many of them, as you know, are screaming now because we are imposing a charter on them unilaterally. If we make this charter even more stringent, then they may scream even more.

I guess the Indian situation is a case in point. We have been discussing with the provinces for many years the solution to Indian problems, Indians that are within the boundaries of certain provinces. We have not always had the most active co-operation from the provinces because many of the lands involved are so-called provincial lands.

So, I think it important that the Canadian people understand that if they ever want to have a charter protecting thei rights, we should first get the charter in the Constitution. Once it is in, hopefully it can be improved, but if it is not in, then there is nothing to improve, and once again, there will be another 53 years before we get it in.

What we attempted to do when we distinguished between the people's package and the package for the governments in our debate last summer, and in the First Ministers' Conference, was to take the people's package out of the area of horse trading between provinces and the federal government, and it is horse trading that has prevented patriation for the past generation because it started with Quebec and now every province is in the game.

When we say, "Let's bring the Constitution back," everyone wants that, and everyone says, "Yes, of course, let's bring it back, but only after you have given me my fisheries, my offshore or my cultural sovereignty." So, what we decided this summer by defining it as a people's package was to get that off the table, the charter, the patriation and the amending formula because everybody wants those. The people want those, and once those are home -- once that is done -- then we can start horse trading between provincial and federal powers without the provinces having a kind of a level or a big stick over the federal government: "We will let you patriate only if you give us increased powers." Once that is done, then we can improve the charter. Therefore, I don't seek to make it perfect. I seek now to bring it home and to have a charter; then we can build on to it and add to it but we can do it without blackmailing each other and giving each other, as politicians, more or less powers.

We can look at the charter and say, "It is here now, but it doesn't work well as regards,for instance, the Indian people or the paraplegics, or whatever it is. Let's sit down and try to improve the charter in whatever way is best for this group of people." That is what I say to those who probably won't come out with the most perfect charter in the world, but it will be a charter and we will have it and will be able to amend it and improve it.

In a roundabout way -- but you remember what Rousseau also said. He said: "...je ne peux pas dire toutes les choses en même temps..." in that same essay on the Social Contract.

Et il faut nous donner le temps de les attaquer une à une. " L'homme est né libre et partout il est dans les chaînes. D'où cela vient-il je ne saurais le dire, mais comment cela peut-il être corrigé, c'est ce que je veux essayer de démontrer."

MIKE DOYLE (Ottawa Journal): Mr. Prime Minister, just a slightly more plebeian question. At the last press conference you said that western separatism was nil and non-existent. Then on Sunday I saw you in Montreal and you acknowledged this movement of western separatism and made certain points about how the Quebecois should deal with it.

Subsequent to that, Claude Ryan said it was the worst thing, it was more dangerous than Quebec's separatism ever was. Now Lougheed is talking about alienation becoming aggravation. So, I am wondering if there is not a new fix that we can put on western separatism given that series of events.

A. Didn't it all start in this room when you asked me what the chances of separatism were?

Q. Yes, it did.

A. Yes, and I didn't say it was nil and non-existent. My recollection is that I said it did not have a ghost of a chance. I thought I was flattering western Canadians because I know they are good Canadians, and I don't think they want to separate and I don't think they will separate. I still say what I said. The chances of western separatism to me are nil. That does not mean that there are not a lot of separatists who will fight for it. Just like in Quebec, there were a lot

of separatists who fought for separation, but I always said it was dead, and we killed it. People will still fight for it, and if the rest of the country, or if Ottawa or if the provinces are silly enough, I suppose we can manage to make separatism real somewhere.

I take it as a compliment to western Canadians that I said that chances of separatism are nil there because I think they are good Canadians. But now Mr. Ryan is a better Canadian than me because what? ... I don't know ... he said that maybe separatism has a chance there. Is that what they are saying?

Q. Not precisely. What he said was that western separatism is a much more volatile mixture and danger than Quebec separatism ever was because of the deep attachment of Quebec people to their roots as opposed to people in the western (inaudible).

A. I believe that last part about Quebec people being very attached to their roots. That is why I always thought that separatism would not work in Quebec, but perhaps it is not flattering to the west to assume that because there are more new Canadians there that they are not attached to Canada. It may well be the contrary phenomenon. People who have come to Canada from many parts of the world, some of them from countries where they live under oppression or misery, chose

Canada freely, and because it was a free choice, they may be greater Canadians.

I would gamble that the chances of separatism are reduced by the fact that there are a lot of new Canadians in the west. I think a lot of the people who supported the view that our government has of Canada, a strong Canada, are new Canadians, because they chose to immigrate or their fathers and mothers chose to immigrate to Canada. They were not immigrating to Quebec, Saskatchewan or British Columbia; they wer immigrating to Canada, and they want Canada to be strong. I think they would be our greatest defenders against the fringe of separatists.

But, that is one man's opinion. If Mr. Ryan, whose speech I didn't read, feels to the contrary, well it is a free country. You are free to choose between the two views.

MARC PEPIN, : Monsieur le premier ministre, il y a deux jours monsieur Claude Ryan le chef du Parti libéral est venu dire à Ottawa que si le gouvernement fédéral n'est pas prêt à imposer à l'Ontario l'article 133, en toute logique il faudrait libérer le Québec des contraintes de cet article.

J'aimerais connaître vos commentaires là-dessus et aussi étant donné que monsieur Hatfield est venu dire hier qu'il était prêt à lier sa province à l'article 133 de la constitution, est-ce que vous allez laisser l'Ontario libre de décider si oui ou non elle va(inaudible des services bilingues à ses citoyens?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: Et bien, il s'agit de savoir et je vous demande la question à vous, à monsieur Ryan, à tous les autres, est-ce que l'opinion voudrait que l'on impose encore plus de contraintes et d'obligations aux provinces, ou moins?

Si monsieur Ryan, et je ne sais pas s'il a dit ce que vous dites là, mais s'il l'a dit et s'il suggère que nous devrions imposer ça à l'Ontario, pourquoi ne l'imposerions-nous pas aussi à la Saskatchewan, puis à la Colombie Britannique, et pourquoi n'imposerions-nous pas aussi beaucoup d'autres obligations?

Alors il faut se brancher, voyez-vous, il faut décider si on trouve que le gouvernement est allé trop loin en imposant des choses aux provinces contre leur gré ou si on voudrait nous appuyer pour en imposer da-

vantage?

Quand j'aurai cette réponse, je pourrai ensuite traiter de l'article 133.

Q. Mais est-ce que vous êtes prêt à l'imposer aux dix provinces pour régler cette question?

R. Bien, je m'en réfère à ceux, si c'est Ryan ou aux autres qui nous sollicitent de le faire.

Veulent-ils que le gouvernement impose des choses aux provinces? Si oui, je considérerai d'imposer celle-là. Mais encore une fois qu'ils se branchent, qu'ils ne nous accusent pas de violer la constitution et la liberté des québécois en imposant des choses et ensuite nous demander d'imposer des choses encore plus nombreuses à tout le monde.

Ce n'est pas moi qui ai imposé l'article 133 au Québec. C'était les Pères de la Confédération. Si monsieur Hatfield veut aussi que cela soit imposé aux Nouveau-Brunswickais, cela peut se faire en vertu de ma formule d'amendement. Alors nous le ferons, et ça se fera au moins dans trois provinces: le Québec, le Manitoba et le Nouveau-Brunswick, qui auront l'article 133. Ensuite on parlera de l'Ontario à la prochaine étape et peut-être éventuellement des autres provinces, s'il y a un accord pour lamendement constitutionnel.

Mais encore une fois on ne peut

pas à la fois nous reprocher d'aller trop loin en imposant des choses aux provinces par notre Charte des droits et ensuite suggérer aux provinces qu'on aille plus loin.

PAUL LONGPRE, La Presse: Monsieur le premier ministre, face à la crise polonaise, vous avez souhaité une concertation des pays occidentaux pour éviter l'incohérence qui a suivi les crises afghane et iranienne.

Est-ce que vous allez prendre l'initiative d'une telle concertation ou la laisser à un autre leader et si oui comment est-ce que ça va se traduire et quand?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: Et bien, quant à moi, cette initiative est déjà prise, j'ai soulevé ce problème avec le chancelier Schmidt de l'Allemagne et avec le président de la France et avec son premier ministre dans les semaines qui viennent de s'écouler. Je leur ai fait le raisonnement que j'ai fait hier à la Chambre des communes que, voulant condamner l'URSS pour l'invasion de l'Afghanistan nous avons trouvé surtout le moyen de montrer à quel point nous étions désunis.

Il faudrait que nous nous concertions à l'avernir devant des crises encore hypothétiques pour éviter encore cette sorte de désunion, de débandade tre les pays démocratiques de l'Ouest.

Alors je leur en ai parlé et j'ai écrit à mes autres partenaires au sommet, au premier ministre japonais, au premier ministre italien, au président des Etats-Unis, et je leur ai dit: c'est bien beau chacun dans son pays

y compris nous, à la Chambre des communes, nous avons mis en garde l'URSS dans les événements polonais, contre une action intempérée dans la situation polonaise. Mais chacun le fait de son côté, mais qu'est-ce qu'on va faire ensuite pour agir ensemble pour empêcher que cette crise ne s'empire?

Et c'est cette consultation qui est déjà engagée par écrit en partie et verbalement en partie.

MICHELLE TREMBLAY, Le Droit: Monsieur le premier ministre, dans sa formulation actuelle votre projet constitutionnel n'a pas été présenté aux premiers ministres des provinces.

Après le travail du Comité, ce sera un projet encore plus inédit que celui-ci actuellement. Est-ce que vous avez l'intention de présenter ce projet aux premiers ministres pour leur laisser le choix de l'accepter ou de le refuser avant d'envoyer la résolution à Londres ?

LE PREMIER MINISTRE: Et bien, je ne suis pas de votre avis quand vous dites que le projet n'a pas été présenté aux premiers ministres...

Q. Dans sa formulation complète telle qu'elle est présentée maintenant?

R. Oui. Vous vous rappelez que dès le mois de juin j'ai indiqué que quant à nous nous pensions, c'était des engagements que chacun avait pris au moment du référendum québécois, qu'il fallait agir avec beaucoup de célérité pour commencer l'amendement constitution-

nel et que bien sûr il y avait la question des pouvoirs qui allait être discutée longtemps, mais qu'il fallait agir tout de suite sur le rapatriement, sur une formule d'amendement et sur la Charte des droits y compris les droits linguistiques.

Alors ça je le dis depuis les mois de mai et juin, pour ce qui est des textes mêmes, ces textes ont été devant les premiers ministres des provinces ou leurs procureux généraux, tout le long de l'été. J'ai indiqué tout à l'heure que certains des textes, par exemple, relatifs à la charte, relativement à la Charte des droits, certains des textes allaient plus loin cet été qu'ils ne vont dans le projet actuel, et que monsieur Chrétien allait probablement proposer des amendements pour rétablir certains des textes qui avaient été vus l'été dernier.

Alors ces textes-là sont connus. La formule Victoria est connue. L'idée du rapatriement est connue. Alors ce ne sont pas des choses inédites. Encore une fois, il y a peut-être des virgules de changées, mais ces virgules pourraient être changées, il y a des premiers ministres qui se sont présentés devant le Comité et pourront obtenir certains changements.

Alors ceux qui nous chicanent sur telle ou telle formule précise dans la déclaration des droits ou dans la formule d'amendement, ont trouvé le moyen de nous le dire. Mais la plupart des opposants ne nous chicanent pas sur des formules précises, ils sont

contre le rapatriement, contre la charte et contre le formule d'amendement; ils veulent repousser ça aux calendes grecques par la voie des tribunaux.

Q. Vous n'avez pas l'intention de rencontrer les premiers ministres avant d'envoyer la résolution à Londres?

R. La réponse est non.

TERRY WILLS (Montreal Gazette): Mr. Prime Minister, a question on the economy and inflation. A study prepared by the Department of Finance on the prospects for the Canadian economy was released at the same time as the budget. It predicted that food prices next year would rise more sharply than food prices did this year. In the October Consumer Price Index, food for home consumption was going up at 13.8 per cent. So, that would put it at 14, 15 per cent plus the rate of rise next year. When you and Mr. MacEachen say that Canadians have to tighten their belts, do you mean that literally -- that they will have to accept less on their table?

A. No, they don't have to accept less on their table. They may switch their priorities and spend a bit more on food than on other things. Mr. MacEachen has said in his budget, and we have said repeatedly, that inflation is a very severe threat. That is why you are assisting the monetary policy which exists in the United States with very high interest rates and a monetary policy set in Canada freely, as you know, each month by comparing the rates in commercial transactions, which is very high, too, because unfortunately inflation remains a very great danger. Visibly, the monetary authorities in the United States are clamping down on monetary expansion because they want to fight that danger and prevent the type of inflation which you are talking about.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN OTTAWA
DECEMBER 12, 1980

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE
A OTTAWA LE 12 DECEMBRE 1980

THE CHAIRMAN: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. The Prime Minister does not have an opening statement today, but is ready to take all your questions for the next 30 minutes. I ask you to please stand so that the translation services can pick up the questions.

D. LABRECQUE (Télémédia) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, un sondage d'opinion réalisé par la firme Gallup et dont les résultats ont été publiés cette semaine indique que 58 pour cent des personnes interrogées s'opposent au projet de rapatriement unilatéral de la Constitution.

Vous avez souvent affirmé que la population appuie ce projet. A la lumière de ces résultats, est-ce que vous écartez toujours la possibilité de reprendre les négociations avec les provinces ou de leur soumettre le rapport du Comité qui étudie le texte de la résolution et, en sous-question, j'avoue humblement avoir appris hier d'un membre de votre gouvernement que Cicéron recommandait de gouverner avec la raison, pas avec l'opinion publique.

Est-ce qu'on doit en conclure que vous reniez Lincoln pour adopter les vues de Cicéron?

R. Eh bien, le gouvernement du peuple par le peuple et pour le peuple n'est pas nécessairement fondé sur des sondages d'opinion et je pense que le rôle des chefs de gouvernements c'est d'essayer de

diriger le peuple dans la bonne voie et de ne pas attendre le résultat des enquêtes pour décider dans quel sens leur popularité existe et dans quel sens il faut diriger.

Je ne vois pas de contradiction entre ces deux grands hommes, Cicéron et Lincoln. Cicéron dit qu'il faut gouverner en se basant sur la raison; c'est, sauf erreur, ce que j'ai toujours dit et il n'y a pas si longtemps en Saskatchewan je disais cela, il faut mettre la raison avant la passion lorsqu'il s'agit de décider objectivement des voies à suivre. Je prends quant à moi pour acquis que la sagesse des nations, la raison populaire l'emporte souvent sur les élucubrations intellectuelles, et j'ai eu l'occasion de le dire également.

Q. Et mon autre question?

R. Déjà oubliée!

Q. A la lumière de ce sondage Gallup, est-ce que vous écartez toujours la possibilité de reprendre, et caetera...?

R. Ah! oui, j'écarte la possibilité de reprendre, et caetera...!

Non. Remarquez bien que le sondage disait que l'on n'approuvait pas majoritairement le rapatriement unilatéral de la Constitution, et c'est également mon avis. Je ne favorise pas le rapatriement unilatéral. Tout simplement, je dis que ce n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir

l'unanimité puisque l'unanimité a fait s'effondrer les efforts de rapatriement depuis 54 ans maintenant. Il faut bien rapatrier sans l'unanimité. Il suffit d'avoir un large consensus et nous avons ce large consensus.

Je prends les termes de la question, rapatriement unilatéral avec une formule d'amendement. Eh bien, je répète, pour ce qui est du rapatriement avec formule d'amendement, nous y croyons de notre côté, monsieur Clark y croit, évidemment, puisqu'il a proposé lui-même un rapatriement avec une formule d'amendement il y a à peine trois semaines à la Chambre des communes, c'était le sujet de son amendement; monsieur Broadbent y croit. Alors, tous les partis représentés à la Chambre des communes veulent le rapatriement avec une formule d'amendement. Ca fait un assez large consensus; donc, ce n'est pas un rapatriement unilatéral.

Est-ce que vous me comprenez?

IAN URQUHART (Toronto Star): Mr. Prime Minister, would you consider holding a referendum to prove the point?

A. No. When three parties agree -- the totality of the House of Commons, as my friend would say, why should we hold a referendum? Mr. Clark has moved a motion to patriate the Constitution with an amending formula. The people say we should not have unilateral repatriation. There is no unilateral repatriation. We are supported by Mr. Clark and Mr. Broadbent, and obviously by the Liberal caucus. That was the question, was it not, in the Gallup Poll: Do you support unilateral repatriation with an amending formula? Most of the people said no, and I would say no, too.

MICHEL GUENARD, TVA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, j'ai beaucoup de difficulté à suivre votre logique.

R. Recommençons!

En regard de l'entrevue que vous aviez au réseau français le 24 novembre et dans laquelle vous disiez que vous aviez l'impression à ce moment-là -- je ne citerai pas le verbatim -- que la population était derrière vous pour finalement mettre fin à 53 ans d'impasse et que vous alliez à Londres pour rapatrier cette Constitution et vous disiez, je mets au défi les provinces de tenir des élections sur ce sujet-là ou un référendum si elles ne sont pas d'accord avec moi.

A la lumière de certains sondages, est-ce qu'on pourrait vous demander pourquoi, lorsque cette résolution sortira du Parlement, vous ne pourriez pas la soumettre à un référendum de la population canadienne pour finalement avoir un verdict là-dessus?

R. Vous savez, il y a une différence. Je pense que je parlais de provinces dont l'échéance électorale normale est arrivée ou dépassée ou est à la veille d'arriver et je disais que si ces personnes-là, si ces gouvernements-là pensaient avoir l'appui de la population, sûrement qu'ils en auraient fait un enjeu électoral. Je pense que ça sera aussi votre opinion, s'ils pensaient gagner là-dessus. Il n'y a aucune espèce de doute dans l'esprit de

n'importe quel analyste politique que s'ils pensaient gagner dans un combat contre le rapatriement de la Constitution de Londres, ils auraient fait des élections là-dessus.

Moi, pourquoi est-ce que je ferais des élections? Je viens d'en gagner il y a moins d'un an pour appuyer ce que j'ai toujours dit devait se faire éventuellement. Je ne comprends pas votre raisonnement.

MICHAEL VALPY (Vancouver Sun): Mr. Prime Minister, I suppose if there were polls taken on the elements of your constitutional proposal, that you would probably get support, but regardless of how murky that Gallup Poll question was this week, there definitely is a dissatisfaction in the public -- some kind of dissatisfaction in the public with your process.

My question is: Why do you feel you have had so much trouble selling the process of you people acting alone to amend the Constitution, to reform the Constitution?

A. I don't feel we have to have trouble selling the process. I do think thatthe Opposition, particularly Mr. Clark's Opposition, has been talking entirely about the process and not about the substance. But, I believe that people support the process, and I don't think the Gallup Poll demonstrated the contrary.

Q. What you are saying, if I understand you correctly, is that the response to the Gallup question is something -- it has nothing to do with really what the process is that you are following.

A. People are against unilateral patriation.

Q. Which is what you are doing.

A. No, that is not what I am doing. Our party supports unilateral patriation -- supports patriation without unanimity, to be more precise. So does Mr. Clark's; so does Mr. Broadbent's; so does Mr. Davis'; so does Mr. Hatfield, and I think even Premier Bennett said that,if we were just going to bring the Constitution home with an amending formula, he would support that. So, there are a lot of people in favour of patriation with an amending formula, including, as I say, Mr. Clark's party, including the entire House of Commons that voted to do that in that vote presented by Mr. Yurko last May.

So, you know, you are asking the people a question that is out of reality. If you had asked the people: "Do you think unanimity is necessary to patriate the Constitution?" and they voted 50 or 60 or 70 per cent,yes, then I might begin to worry about the support, but people don't think unanimity is necessary and we don't either. We think there has to be a measure of support, and there is. It is not unilateral. What does "unilateral" mean?

Q. One government ---

A. One government going against everybody, right?

Is that the case? I just quoted at least three or four premiers and two leaders of the opposition parties who want patriation with an amending formula. Do you follow me?

Q. I don't think that is what the public perception is.

A. You discuss that with Mr. Gallup.

Maurice Godin, R.C.: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, le Secrétaire général de l'OTAN déclarait ce matin dans un communiqué de presse que les pays occidentaux seraient prêts à prendre des mesures diplomatiques, économiques et militaires advenant une intervention éventuelle de l'URSS en Pologne.

J'aimerais vous demander, dans l'optique canadienne, dans la perspective canadienne, en quoi ça pourrait se traduire? Est-ce que, par exemple, le Canada serait prêt à retirer ses diplomates et, dans la mesure où la missive que vous avez envoyée au Président de l'URSS pourrait répondre à ma question, est-ce que vous seriez prêt à la rendre publique, cette missive, si non de nous dire en quoi elle consistait.

R. La citation du début, c'est une citation de qui?

Q. C'est le Secrétaire général de l'OTAN, dans un communiqué ce matin.

R. Je n'ai pas vu ce communiqué.

Quant à moi, je trouve inutile de spéculer sur ce que nous ferions s'il y avait une invasion de la Pologne par l'Union soviétique. Je trouve ce genre de spéculation tout à fait inopportun, même sur le plan de la paix.

Notre thèse à nous c'est qu'il ne doit pas y avoir d'interventions extérieures en Pologne, que les Polonais ont des problèmes et qu'ils sont aux prises avec ces problèmes-là et que ça devrait être à eux de les

résoudre et je trouve toute spéculation du genre que vous m'amenez à faire très malvenue parce que, justement, cela peut amener une augmentation des tensions et donner à l'autre camp le prétexte que nous nous préparons à des opérations militaires ou diplomatiques ou autres et leur permettre d'en conclure que nous intervenons dans les questions intérieures de la Pologne, et cela a été la base de toute mon action depuis que cette affaire-là a fait jour et c'était le sens aussi de ma lettre au Président Breznev de dire, écoutez, l'Ouest n'intervient pas en Pologne, nous n'avons pas l'intention d'intervenir, alors, s'il-vous-plaît, ne prenez pas prétexte d'agitation de l'Ouest dans la question polonaise pour vous agiter vous-mêmes.

TOM PALMER (Boston Globe): Mr. Prime Minister, I find some of the technical aspects of the constitutional proposal easier to understand than one more fundamental one -- that is, on an issue of such serious importance long-term to Canada and the Canadian people, what is the hurry of this Constitution?

A. Well, I suppose that is a matter of judgment, but when I know that Canadian governments have failed over a period of 53 years to get rid of their last vestige of colonialism, not through neglect but because they have proved incapable of reaching unanimity on doing this. When I see the country being pushed and pulled by centrifugal forces, rather, yes, centrifugal forces, as they are now, with a separatist government in Quebec and separatist movements, so-called arising in various other parts of Canada, I think it is important that Canadians be called upon to show their national will in this way. That has been my belief for several years now. You could say, "What is the hurry at this time?" but that is what has been said, I suppose, for many, many, many years with the result that it has never been done, and I think it is a shame that Canadians have not been able to exercise that act of national will of having their own Constitution. I think it is a sign of maturity, of adulthood, to get it done, just as it was with the Canadian flag against, you will recall, incredible opposition. I don't know, incidentally, what the Gallup Polls said then, but it would be interesting to look them up.

DAVID HALTON: (CBC-TV):

Mr. Prime Minister, I was wondering if you could give us some idea at what point, if interest rates continue to rise at the rate that they are, that the government will feel it necessary to bring in new policies to dampen the impact of those increases?

A. No, I am afraid I can't. Mr. MacEachen attempted to deal with or ward off that question in the House of Commons. I think he made it clear that if the new policies meant controls, particularly export/import or exchange controls, we were not envisaging them. If that is what you have in mind by "new policies", we don't have them in mind. So, I can only repeat what the Minister of Finance has said. The future movement of interest rates is absolutely unpredictable. We know that in some way they will be influenced by what happens in the United States, but I don't think anybody could predict what they will do in the United States, either. Whether they will continue to go up beyond this incredibly high level of 20 per cent, or whether there will be some rebound on the down side -- I guess if anybody knows, he can make a lot of money on the stock market. I dont't know.

BOB ABRA (Radio-Canada International): I would like to repeat my francophone colleague's question about the Canadian viewpoint on the NATO agreement announced this morning on collective action should the Soviet Union invade Poland, and how you can see this response from the west?

A. I can't see it all, and as I said in French, I have not seen Secretary General Luntz' statement. I quite frankly will be asking some questions about it. I don't think it is opportune or wise at this time to appear to be prepared to intervene in the Polish conflict. Our whole case to the Soviet Union is that there has been no western interference, that the troubles in Poland are generated in Poland. There has been no agitation from the west and no "agent provocateur." It is the Polish people themselves who are questioning their orientation, and I think they should be left to question it and to find their own answers. Any intervention by one side is liable to lead to intervention by the other side. Therefore, I think we should steer miles away from any hint of any intervention.

MICHEL VASTEL, Le Devoir: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, concernant ce que vous avez répondu à monsieur David Halton qu'il y a des facteurs internes à la baisse du dollar et, en particulier, la politique énergétique qui, de l'avis de tout le monde, a provoqué l'évasion de fonds canadiens, ce qui a une influence négative sur le dollar, vous avez vous-même rencontré des hommes d'affaires canadiens, je pense, et l'un de vos principaux conseillers, monsieur Pitfield, en a rencontré d'autres.

Est-ce que vous êtes en mesure de nous dire aujourd'hui si votre gouvernement envisage une révision, un certain assouplissement de son programme énergétique ou si l'on doit considérer que c'est coulé dans le béton et que vous ne reculerez pas là-dessus?

R. Eh bien, je ne sais pas à quoi vous faites allusion quand vous parlez de mes rencontres et de celles de monsieur Pitfield...

Q. Le président de Dome Petroleum m'a dit qu'il vous avait rencontré et le président de Canadian Hunter a dit qu'il avait rencontré monsieur Pitfield.

R. Le président de Canadian Hunter, je ne l'ai pas vu. Le président de Dome Petroleum, effectivement, m'a rencontré pour mettre de l'avant une proposition d'ordre fiscal relativement à la façon de mesurer

le degré de canadianisme d'une compagnie.

Il ne m'a pas du tout entretenu de l'ensemble de notre politique énergétique. C'était une mesure précise qui l'intéressait en rapport avec sa propre compagnie qui est en majorité contrôlée aux Etats-Unis.

Ce préambule étant passé, je ne dis pas que les mesures sont coulées dans le béton. Au contraire. Depuis le budget et la réponse du premier ministre Lougheed, j'ai indiqué que nous étions prêts à reprendre les négociations et à essayer de trouver des compromis de part et d'autre.

BRIAN SMITH (CHCH): Mr. Prime Minister, there has been considerable speculation recently about a cabinet shuffle. For instance, there is a vacancy in Veterans Affairs. I am wondering if you are satisfied with the current make-up of your cabinet, or if you have some changes in mind. If you have some changes in mind, will they affect your Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Munro?

A. The answer to all those questions is no. I have been informed of the rumours. I can say that they are absolutely unfounded. I have no intention to shuffle my cabinet now or in the near future. There is a vacancy, as you pointed out, in Veterans Affairs which led to a doubling-up of ministries, but we have other ministries which are doubled up, and I have no intention immediately to fill that particular -- or to split that particular doubling-up. This applies to Mr. Munro; this applies to any other minister that might be involved in the speculation. I think the cabinet is working well, and I am very happy and satisfied with the work of the individual ministers.

GILBERT LAVOIE, La Presse: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, le ministre Jean Chrétien doit rendre publics les trois derniers sondages du Centre d'Information sur l'Unité canadienne d'ici le 19 décembre.

Est-ce que le gouvernement a fait d'autres sondages depuis le dernier de ces trois sondages?

R. Je ne suis pas au courant qu'il en ait fait mais remarquez bien qu'on ne me consulte pas toujours, je dirais même rarement, avant de faire des sondages.

Q. Une deuxième question.

Si les premiers ministres des provinces acceptaient de revenir à la table des négociations pour négocier uniquement ce qu'on communément le 'people's package', est-ce que vous seriez disposé à reprendre les négociations avant d'aller à Londres?

R. Eh bien, non. Si les gens veulent revenir à la table des négociations, ça va être pour discuter dans le 'people's package' une des trois choses: le rapatriement, la formule d'amendement ou la charte des droits.

Sur le rapatriement, je pense qu'il n'en est pas question; tout le monde prétend maintenant qu'ils en veulent comme ils le prétendent depuis une cinquantaine d'années mais ils n'ont jamais pu s'entendre sur, deuxièmement, la formule d'amendement. Or, la formule d'amendement, nous avons

précisément prévu qu'une fois la Constitution rapatriée, nous serions liés par la règle de l'unanimité pendant deux ans, c'est-à-dire que rien ne bougerait sans le consentement de tout le monde, et que pendant ces deux ans-là il y aurait des conférences fédérales-provinciales pour essayer de trouver une formule de rapatriement sur laquelle nous nous mettrions tous d'accord.

Alors, cette réunion dont vous parlez, elle aura lieu. Il y en aura pendant deux ans. Encore une fois, vous savez ce qui arrive au bout. S'il n'y a pas entente, la population choisira la formule d'amendement qu'elle préfèrera.

Pour ce qui est de la charte des droits, là-dessus aussi, dès que nous avons une charte des droits, elle sera amendable par des réunions fédérales-provinciales et je serai le premier à vouloir y apporter des rectificatifs ou des améliorations.

Alors, les souhaits que vous exprimez ou que vous prétendez réfléter pour ce qui est des réunions fédérales-provinciales, il devrait y avoir des conférences constitutionnelles, c'est même prévu dans mon projet, pour choisir une formule d'amendement et, par la même occasion, si l'on veut, d'améliorer la charte et, comme je le disais la semaine dernière, ce qui est important c'est d'avoir une charte et quand on en aura une, là, on pourra l'améliorer.

Si on remet tout le processus en cause parce qu'il y a des améliorations possibles, on ne finira par ne pas avoir de charte et, donc, aucune amélioration.

BOB DOUGLAS (Canadian Press): Mr. Prime Minister, part of the Polish problem is economic, and this week you were saying to the Opposition leader -- you were asking him whether he is aware of what economic steps were being taken to help the Polish people at this point. I wonder if Canada is either considering economic help for Poland, either alone or in concert with other western countries, and secondly, whether you think that such help done in a hurry might help avoid any political confrontation.

A. Well, on your very last point, any help given must not be interpretable as an intervention into Polish affairs. In other words, any help given should be along traditional lines or at the specific request of the Polish government and people given in a free and unsolicited way, as it were.

So, that being stated, we are shipping this year, 1980, to Poland the maximum of our long-term commitments in tonnage of grains, and we plan to do that next year, too. They have a very good line of credit and terms to permit them to ensure that at least on that aspect of the food side they will not be left dangling. In other words, we are not trying to put any economic pressure on them to make the régime collapse. On the contrary, we are trying to help them on this food side.

On the financial side, I think I indicated that I had discussed it with Chancellor Schmidt and President Giscard d'Estaing. I did say in the House that there was a meeting on the periphery of the OECD meeting in Paris, which will be attended by Canada and several other countries interested in the kind of problem you just mentioned.

That meeting was going to take place this week. I am now informed that it is carried over to December 22, but we, of course, will be attending and we will be seeing ways in which we could respond to a request by the Polish government for financial or economic aid.

GAYLE MORRIS (CFCF-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, I wanted to ask you ---

A. Are you going to quote Hobbs or Locke this morning?

Q. I beg your pardon?

A. Are you going to quote Hobbs or Locke this morning, because I memorized them both just in case.

Q. I was going to ask a question, though, and refer to the Jesuit philosophy ---

A. Suarez.

Q. -- on the basic theory of the people's right to resist, and ask a question about the Gallup Poll, but since it was asked and answered, I have another one. This has nothing to do with that, as a matter of fact. It is with reference to maritime provinces ---

A. That's Mariano, that Jesuit. That is the theory of tyrannicide. When there is a tyrant, you are allowed to do such and so. That is when there's no democracy.

Q. I will move on to a much more basic question in the present century.

The maritime provinces have been borrowing from Alberta's heritage fund, and there has been some concern expressed during the past week that this could act as a psychological lever that Alberta might be using against the maritime provinces. Apparently, some of the loans between some of the provinces, if you add them all up, are now totalling almost $1 billion. Does that worry you as a cause of concern about this kind of thing happening?

A. I haven't examined that problem. I don't know the magnitude of it. I had proposed to Premier Lougheed a couple of years ago that some of his Petro dollars in excess could be put into a borrowing fund which would help the provinces, and so on. If he wants to help them directly, I don't see any great objection to that, providing, to use your own words, that he doesn't try to use his powers as a creditor to lever theprovinces into doing things which would not be in their interest or in the national interest, and I suppose it is good to have that concern in mind, but I am not a provincial politician, and I don't know if there are any provinces to which this kind of leverage has been given to Alberta -- provinces over which this kind of leverage would have been given to Alberta.

To push your question a degree further, if it were not loans but actually works in areas of provincial jurisdiction that Alberta's wealth were being employed at, then I suppose that I would begin to wonder if this isn't beginning to be a danger in the balance of federal-provincial relations. In other words, whether you borrow money from Alberta or from New York, perhaps isn't all that serious, but if you have to go to Alberta in order to do what you have to do, build your roads, open your schools or heat your houses, then I think there might be a warp setting in the political system, but all this is speculation. I have no evidence that it is happening.

PAUL PARK (Journal of Commerce): Mr. Prime Minister, when wage and price controls were brought in five years ago, the unemployment rate, the Consumer Price Index and the bank rate were all lower than they are today. At that time you said controls would be brought in only when absolutely necessary. You have ruled out today exchange or import/export controls. What consideration, if any, has been given to the re-imposition of wage and price guidelines?

A. No consideration is being given to that. You are right that in the intervening years I guess western economies have become a bit more used to high inflation and high unemployment, not that they accept it any more, but I guess they realize that they are not as capable as they once thought of using Canadianism or other theories to adjust the performance of the economy.

You will recall -- and I said this in the House yesterday or the day before -- that when we were hitting those levels in 1974-75, we had had two interprovincial conferences of the premiers demanding that the federal government get into --if they didn't say it directly--the controls. They were all hinting at it and, of course, in private conversations, it was being discussed I mean, private meetings of first ministers. Indeed, the federal government had been using what it called "job owning" and we had had national conferences of unions and management, and so on, to try to introduce voluntary controls. So, there had been a whole process of building up to the controls which were brought in.

I think that is not just a political argument; that is a legal one. As I told Mr. Broadbent, I don't think we have the constitutional jurisdiction to impose controls except if we can declare an emergency. I not only don't think that, I know that because the Supreme Court has said it. When does an emergency develop? Obviously it is developing at a higher level now than it did a few years ago. You know, you haven't heard the provinces ask us to use our national powers to step into their areas of jurisdiction.

That is a long explanation. I repeat the answer to your question is that we are not envisaging controls now. If we did, I am not sure we could make them stick constitutionally. There would have to be other steps or other things happening before.

JOHN McKAY (Broadcast News): Mr. Prime Minister, you spoke in Paris recently about the need for crisis management. Since you were criticized in Parliament last week for not taking a public stand on Poland, can you tell us what progress, if any, has been made behind the scenes to create what I understand would be a sort of political equivalent to a western economic summit, and we would see the west take a united stand on the world crisis? Is such a body imminent that would make an end run around NATO or the UN?

A. No, I wouldn't think in terms of a body. I would think of, perhaps, pursuing the kind of idea that I developed in Venice when I said, "Look, we are meeting at an economic summit. But at a time when Afghanistan has happened, at a time when the hostage incident in Tehran had taken place, and so on, shouldn't we envisage the same kind of consultation and management of crises in political affairs as we are doing in economic affairs and consult on energy, consult on the consequences of the latest OPEC increase, consult on the effects of exchange rates on one another?"

I think the idea is making progress. As I reported in Paris, I discussed that subject with several of the leaders that I had met and following my return I consulted them on an approach to the Polish question. Several of them answered me. I think it is beginning to take place.

I have no predictions or, you know, wild hopes and certainly no desire to establish any kind of political directoire for the world. I just think that it makes sense to consult so that we don't end up as we did in the Afghan thing condemning the Soviet Union in words but showing disunity and disarray amongst all those that condemned that because they can't get their act together in following up on that condemnation.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH AT A DINNER HOSTED BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF BORNO, AND HELD IN MAIDUGURI, NIGERIA, JANUARY 10, 1981.

TRANSCRIPTION DE L'ALLOCUTION DU PREMIER MINISTRE A UN DINER OFFERT PAR LE GOUVERNEUR DE L'ETAT DE BORNO, A MAIDUGURI, NIGERIA, LE 10 JANVIER 1981.

Governor, Minister, Your Highness, former Governor General, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen and friends, speaking as one politician to another, I would like to begin by telling you, Governor, that that was a masterful speech. You started in the right way by making several compliments about, as you put it, my "august person" and I was reflecting that it was worthwhile bringing the Canadian press this far, half way across the world, in order that they should learn from you, Sir, how to appreciate the qualities of great statemen!

But then, you proceeded to deal with several subjects, all of equal importance, and you left me a little breathless as to what aspect of your speech I should attempt to deal with in my answer. I think that you said many important remarks, whether they had to do with federalism and the importance of preserving diversity while we live in unity in great countries such as yours and ours; you had some very thoughtful reflections on not only the difficulties of, but the solutions to, the great problems of North-South-- on that, incidently, I must say that my heart skipped a beat when you complained about the rock-bottom prices of the export of your raw materials and I wondered if this

was a signal that OPEC was thinking of going a little above the rock-bottom prices!

But, that aside Sir, I think that it is a great chance and a favour and an honour that we Canadians, the party visiting with me, have to be here tonight. We have been shown, this afternoon, at the Durbar, one very exciting and vital aspect of your traditions. In my visit before that with His Highness the Shehu, I had another occasion to see how traditional law and advisory councils work in your country. Tonight, we saw and heard aspects of your traditional dances and music, and I learned even a lesson in politics when I noticed that on the dresses of the dancers I saw your picture, and I realized that these had been distributed during your election campaign and it gave me ideas for my next one!

But all this, in a sense, is very much like the remarks you have made to us here tonight, Governor. They deal with many things, but essentially they deal with the problem of preserving our identities in this fast moving world in which we live; of preserving our cultures and our traditions, and yet finding the advantages of living together in society. And we see here, in Nigeria, which is a federal state, what I saw in Austria, which country I visited before coming here, which is another federal state, as I will see in Brazil in the middle of next week, another great country which is another federal state, and then stopping off in Mexico, another federal state, and finally, Canada, another federal state. I think we are learning, ladies and

gentlemen, the key to preserving our individualities as human beings, preserving our traditions, our culture, our uniqueness, and yet learning to live together in large societies. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, showing us how the institution of federalism, through the preservation of your traditional arts and customs, you are meeting this challenge of human beings living in what a great Canadian calls "the global society" -- "the global village" was MacLuhan's expression, and indeed we see through communications that we are all in the same village as "Spaceship Earth", to quote another contemporary, Barbara Ward -- we are all together,and the destiny of humanity is linked together more today than it has been at any other time in the past. We are, whether we like it or not, living as brothers and sisters on the same Earth, and our future will be inextricably linked.

And I think that is the reason why, belatedly, but with much good will, so many of the politicians in the North are discovering the importance of finding through justice solutions to the great injustices which exist in today's world between the North and the South, and I would say between other geographic divisions of the Earth. We have to find these solutions together. I believe that education is one of the basic instruments which will help us to find these solutions. It is a coincidence, I suppose, that the Foreign Minister was also your Vice-Chancellor, and I am sure that he is congratulating his institution, if not himself, for having produced students such as yourself, Governor,

who are bringing their knowledge into the field of Public Service in order to try to solve some of these very difficult problems within our countries and between our countries.

I am happy that you did make a few remarks about the presence in your country, and particularly in the State of Borno, the presence of Canadian teachers, some sixty, I believe, in your State, who, through World University Services, or through CUSO, have come to share some of their knowledge with you, much as back in Canada, where there are some 1500 Nigerian students, we are also teaching them, but learning from them, learning about your country, learning about its possibilities, and learning ways in which together we can cooperate to make this world a more peaceful and a more just place.

Your Excellency, I think I would want to say, in the presence of so many law-makers, policy-makers, judges, the Chief Justice, I want to say that it is our privilege, we who live in democracy, to know that we can solve these differences through the democratic process, and that in reality the only force that holds us together as countries, and the only force can unite us between countries as people, is the will we have to live together in peace and justice. There was a great Austrian jurist who, when examining the basis of obedience in society and asking why we live in peace and we obey the laws and we listen to the courts, and we pay our taxes when we have to, and he said there is only one basic

tenet: it is that the Constitution must be obeyed. And that is a very simple statement. It applies certainly to the fundamental reason why we live in order and in peace in our society. It indicates again to us how violence and destruction can come when we cease to obey the Constitution which, in a country like yours and mine, incorporates the basic values upon which all citizens have decided to agree.

So let me then, by way of thanking you for your hospitality, let me say that hopefully, in the future, we will be meeting again to reflect on progress that will have been made on some of these problems you and I have touched upon, and that we will remember this night with fondness and we will remember that, here, in Northern Nigeria, another sign of friendship existing in this (inaudible) has been shown to my group and I want to, in consequence, offer a toast to the Governor of the State of Borno, to the legislators and officials that help govern.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE HELD ON THE PLANE FROM DAKAR TO BRASILIA, JANUARY 13, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE TENUE A BORD DE L'AVION QUI L'AMENAIT DE DAKAR A BRASILIA, LE 13 JANVIER 1981.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Quant à nous, c'est la forme finale, mais le Comité doit étudier les amendements présentés par Monsieur Chrétien, en discuter, et ce n'est pas impossible que le Comité, lui, veuille changer quelque peu, d'une façon ou d'une autre, ces amendements-là. Certainement que Monsieur Chrétien sera souple. Si on peut rendre l'amendement encore meilleur je suis convaincu qu'il acceptera des propositions des membres du Comité, mais il faut surtout se rappeler que le Comité est quand même ...(inaudible) et tant qu'ils ne se seront pas mis à la rédaction de ce rapport, il est difficile d'annoncer une forme finale. Et, quant à nous, et je pense que c'est votre question, nous n'avons pas grand chose à ajouter.

Je dois faire une exception, quand même. Si vous notez, là-dedans, il n'y a pas d'amendement en ce qui concerne le Sénat. C'est possible que Monsieur Chrétien veuille en faire. Je ne sais pas.... lorsque je suis parti, il était en discussion avec les Sénateurs et je n'ai pas pu le rejoindre depuis hier soir. Alors, c'est possible que dans ce domaine-là, il y ait des amendements, mais je ne saurais vous le dire.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. I would think not. There was unanimous agreement of all Parties to have the Committee bring down its report at the end of the first week in February. Then the report goes to the House of Commons and to the Senate, who will study it concurrently, since it is the report of a Joint Committee, and then the Government intends to give the Commoners and the Senators sufficient time to study that report and decide whether they want to amend the report or not. But I can't see that that will take so long in the winter and spring that we wouldn't still be able to get the resolution over to Great Britain in time for them to act on it.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. No. It signifies that when we first brought it in in October, we had hoped that it would get to the United Kingdom in 1980. But since we are bringing in admendments, it's obvious that we can't call it the 1980 Resolution or Act because it won't have been adopted in 1980. But, as I just answered, this is a statement of fact that we are now in 1981. It isn't a statement of any wish or admission on our part that we can't have the original timetable - that is the 1st of July, or thereabouts - adhered to.

Q. (inaudible) le NPD présente une motion demandant que le 133 soit étendu à l'Ontario et que cette motion reçoive l'appui des membres du Comité. Est-ce que vous le souhaitez personnellement?

R. Non, personnellement, je ne le souhaite pas. Le projet mis de l'avant par le gouvernement, avec ses amendements, exprime bien ce que le gouvernement pense être bon et réalisable à ce stage-ci. Il est sûr que moi, dans mon for intérieur, j'aimerais beaucoup, par exemple, étendre l'article 133 à d'autres provinces. Mais dans mon for intérieur, j'aimerais beaucoup qu'on parle aussi de liberté de choix en ce qui concerne la langue d'éducation. Plutôt que de donner seulement la garantie aux minorités, offrir carrément la liberté de choix. Mais, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, cela voudrait dire imposer à l'Ontario,et peut-être éventuellement à d'autres provinces, les mesures de l'article 133 et d'imposer au Québec la liberté de choix qui est contre l'esprit du Bill 101. Alors nous avons pris comme attitude, dès le départ, que nous n'imposerions pas aux provinces, dans ce domaine-là, des choses qu'elles-mêmes n'étaient pas prêtes à accepter. C'est ainsi que nous en arrivons, dans ce domaine de la langue de l'éducation, à quelque chose de moins satisfaisant que la liberté absolue de choix; et dans le domaine du bilinguisme institutionnel, quelque chose de moins satisfaisant que l'article 133 ou les articles 16 à 20, s'appliquant au niveau fédéral, et selon le voeu du premier ministre Hatfield au niveau de la province du Nouveau-Brunswick.

Mais, ça ne s'appliquerait pas au Québec. Par exemple, les articles 16 à 20 sont en partie couverts par l'article 133, mais il y a des choses dans les articles 16 à 20 que le premier ministre Hatfield est prêt à accepter pour sa province mais que, sauf erreur, le gouvernement actuel de la province de Québec n'est pas prêt à accepter pour elle.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well I can't, of course, speak for the provinces. I know that in the whole array of amendments we are bringing forth, we have attempted to meet many of the points made by the provinces. I think it will be a test as to whether the provinces really want to improve the Resolution or whether they don't want the thing to happen at all. And I think that you will find some provinces in the first category and some in the second. And that is because of the existence of the second category that last September the Conference failed and we had to go at it in the way we did, because there are some provinces that are determined that the Constitution will not be patriated, let alone have a Bill of Rights, until they .... (inaudible) .... you know, the whole gamut of provincial demands on the Constitution.

Though I can't predict but certainly, if you go through the array of amendments, we have met many of the objections put forward by several of the provinces who wanted really improvements and not destruction of the process and, of course, many of the requests made by Civil Liberties unions and other such groups.

You're asking me if there will be further amendments. What I indicated earlier is that, as far as we are concerned, this is the series of amendments which we are prepared to back at this time. I don't know if in discussion in Committee there will not be some further improvements to our amendments. If so, I'm sure Mr. Chrétien will be happy to accept them. But there is nothing envisaged in that case right now.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. No new big changes. In French, I said there is the possible exception for the Senate. There is nothing here amending the/ Senate provision I know that Mr. Chrétien was discussing with the Senators. I wasn't able to reach him and I don't know the outcome of that discussion was. It may be that they want some amendments which haven't been decided upon, or it may be that Mr. Chrétien, after this consultation, decided that this was the most satisfactory course. So, with that exception, we predict no further big change.

Q. ...(inaudible)... the provinces and others complain that you are moving in to their jurisdiction, particularly in the field of education, and you said: "Well we have taken their own resolutions passed at St. Andrews and put it into the law". Now you've gone a little bit beyond that by including the so-called acquired rights in the Constitution. I'm wondering what your justification of that is, given the fact that it is obviously in the

educational field which is / provincial jurisdiction. And secondly, that it's not what they asked for at St.Andrews... (inaudible)

A. ... (inaudible) would answer that. In fact ... Non, je voulais dire d'une façon suspecte que vous ne connaissez peut-être pas parfaitement le dossier dans ce domaine-là. Because when we are protecting acquired rights, in reality we are satisfying some of the objections that René Lévesque's Party had to our proposition. What they did essentially in St.Andrews is say "we're not committing ourselves to give freedom of choice to all parents; we are committing ourselves to protect minority groups". Now this is what we respected. In our Resolution, we are protecting minority groups and not the majority, not freedom of choice. Within minority groups, there was the special case of those minorities which had acquired rights. We have satisfied that particular request of some elements of the Québec population. And I repeat, it was strangely enough motivated particularly by the PQ, who were attacking our thing saying "Look, these are disturbers up in Ottawa; we had, with our Bill 101, protected certain acquired rights of the minorities, of the immigrant minorities, and Ottawa has even forgotten you." So, we're covering that one. We're not / imposing on them areas which weren't already contained in the concept of minority rights.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. No. In reality, at St Andrews, they used the expression "minority rights" ... (inaudible)..Who is in that minority? Is it all those that are of French speaking and English parents? Does it include non-citizens, or only those who are Canadian citizens? Does it apply to the minorities in Québec, for instance, whose parents were Australian and therefore who spoke English, or also to the minorities whose parents were Italian and who didn't speak English or French? The minority, in St Andrews wasn't specified. Québec specified it to a certain degree in its Bill 101 and gave certain protection called "grandfather rights" to children of Italian parents who had already put their kids in the English stream. And these are the ones now that we're catching up to. It was a matter of defining who is included in the minorities.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. La réponse est oui. Le garantir en ce sens que nous ne pourrions pas le changer sans le consentement du Sénat. C'est ça que vous me demandez? Parce que ... garantir ... il est garanti actuellement.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Sans son consentement? Ah! c'est ça le point?

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Je vous avoue franchement que c'est une des hypothèses que Monsieur Chrétien a présentées au Sénat avec mon autorisation. Je ne sais pas où ils en sont, mais la réponse à votre question, c'est oui, problablement. Ça dépend d'autres aspects de la négociation, mais cette idée-là, qui avait été présentée, Monsieur Chrétien et moi, nous l'avons examinée et nous l'avons autorisée. Mais je ne peux pas vous dire les détails exacts de ces négociations avec les Sénateurs. Au fond, ce que je vous dis, c'est que je ne sais pas si cela satisferait les quelques sénateurs qui ne sont pas satisfaits et si ça nous satisfait pas, est-ce que ça vaut la peine de faire ce changement-là? Et c'est là-dessus que problablement les négociations se poursuivent.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Vous anticipez, là! Vous voulez que je demeure Premier ministre à perpétuité, parce que pour le moment, mon projet, c'est cette résolution-là. Pour ce qui est de l'avenir, je trouve qu'il faudrait que nous examinions de près le système de représentation proportionnelle et aussi, problablement une restructuration du Sénat. Ou l'un ou l'autre. Comme vous dites, c'est une question liée à la précédente. Comme vous le savez, dans le Bill C-60, j'essayais de restructurer le Sénat pour que les régions soient mieux représentées. Ça n'a pas marché pour les raisons que vous savez. Après les élections de 1980, j'ai essayé d'amener les autres chefs de parti à accepter

la formule Robarts-Pepin pour une représentation proportionnelle. Ça n'a pas marché. La réponse à votre question, c'est que ces choses-là devraient être faites. Si vous me demandez de prendre un engagement de les faire, moi-même, personnellement, ça dépendra du temps que je suis là.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Pas dans cette session-ci. Cette session-ci, notre propos, c'est d'en finir avec la résolution, puis ensuite de passer aux questions économiques, énergétiques, etc. Mais, je/répète, le je pense que la constitution doit être améliorée dans le sens que nous discutons, et si je suis là, je le ferai, si je ne suis pas là, je laisserai cet héritage à d'autres.

Q. ...(Inaudible)... au niveau des droits? Est-ce que, dans votre démarche actuelle sur la reprise du dialogue Nord-Sud, vous vous attendez aussi à faire face à une réalité qui ne satisfera pas les attentes de bien du monde, incluant vos attentes personnelles?

R. Dans ce domaine-là, on n'établit jamais la justice parfaite immédiatement....

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Sûrement. C'est le rôle des (inaudible)... Voyez, si je peux me permettre de faire une allusion qui ne me servira peut-être pas!... Prenez les minorités. Prenez

par exemple, les femmes qui réclament dans le domaine de la condition féminine. Je n'ai jamais vu un groupe de femmes qui ait dit au gouvernement: "eh! bien, merci. Vous avez raison. Car enfin, il y a un président de la Chambre, il y a eu un président du Sénat, il y a des juges en chef des Cours supérieures, vous avez nommé une femme lieutenant-gouverneur de l'Ontario"...jamais on nous dit: "vous en avez assez fait, arrêtez là". Et ce sera la même chose dans le Nord-Sud. Mais ça ne veut pas dire qu'on ne progresse pas. Ça ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y a pas de changements et qu'ils ne sont pas pour le mieux. Quant à moi, je doute que je puisse agréer un système parfait avant d'avoir donné ma démission.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Non. Ce n'est pas le principal de mes soucis de passer à l'histoire.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, "demonstrably justify" puts the onus on the law-maker, or the one who is trying to restrict civil liberties, to demonstrate that in an orderly democratic society which believes in total freedom, that there are still some freedoms which must be restrained. So there's an onus on the law-maker or the rule-maker to go before the Courts and to say: "Look, you can't run a democracy unless there are some restrictions to freedom." Now, that is why that language has

been used and we've dropped the words "demonstrably justified" in a Parliamentary system of governement to make it clear that we're not trying to bring in by the back door the rule of Parliamentary Supremacy over the Constitution.

We're talking of democracies in general. There are two ways in which we could have done it. The one we did, with the caveat, which is the one, incidentally, which most countries have adopted, including the United Nations' "The Universal Declaration", and the European one and so on, or we could have gone the American way and let the Courts say "well of course, when the ...", and this is the American system, when they have the First Amendment that says: "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech". Of course, this didn't mean that people could yell "fire" in a crowded theatre, to quote Justice Holmes, therefore we the Court will provide this loophole.

The two systems are admissible and recognizable. If we had gone the American way, there was, in our view, some significant disadvantage in that certain other sections are limited. For instance, equality rights are limited by the fact that positive action programs are permitted. And therefore it is conceivable that the Courts would have said "well, the Constitution-makers brought in their own limitations. They brought some in when they were talking of equality rights, but they didn't bring any in when they were talking of the fundamental freedoms. Therefore there is no limitation". And you would get into the

situation which we wanted to avoid where, for instance, the country couldn't legislate against, shall we say, child pornography without having its laws struck down by the Courts which would say "well, you know, you said absolute freedom of the press so you've got to live with that, buster. If you wanted to put in limitations, you should have put them in".

So it's this kind of debate which would go on in the Courts anyhow. But, as I say, by having these precautionary words at the outset, it is an indication to the Courts that, in general, all these rights should be interpreted with a minimum of common sense and respect for the right of a community to abridge certain freedoms. The freedom to yell "fire" in a crowded theatre being a classical example. You know, if we'd gone the other way, I don't think it would have been tragic but it would have made it a little more complicated I'd say. But I don't think the Government was actively hide-bound to have that preamble. There was discussion in Cabinet, and in reality what we did was look at the presentations by the Human Rights Commissioners, by Civil Liberties unions and so on. And to my recollection, almost all of them, including the Canadian Bar, said "well we don't like your Parliamentary democracy thing at the beginning but take that out and we think you should have some loopholes given to the Court". So I think we took the advice of the majority in that. But it is debatable.

Q. (Inaudible)

R. ...(inaudible)... à vous, les citoyens déjà installés ici, et Trudeau ne les protège pas ...

Q. ...(inaudible)... les Italiens.....

A. On verra. Le Parti québécois s'oppose de toute façon. ...(inaudible) ... du Parti québécois/maintenant nous dit: "vous protégez trop les Italiens", après nous avoir dit, au mois de novembre, qu'on ne les protégeait pas assez. ...(inaudible)... mais au fond ce n'est pas la protection des Italiens qu'il veut, mais c'est de défaire le projet en entier.

Mais je vous concède que l'expression à St-Andrews et à Montréal "minority rights", c'était définissable. Et c'est pourquoi Lévesque voulait faire ça par voie de négociation. Qu'est-ce qu'il aurait protégé, je ne le sais pas. Mais je sais que nous, nous avons eu, à un moment donné, à supposer ce qui aurait été protégé s'il avait négocié plus tard. Bien sûr, le Bill 101 s'appliquait uniquement à la province, mais le Bill 101 aurait été modifié par les présentes négociations dont il parlait. Et qu'est-ce qu'il aurait concédé dans ces négociations, en ce cas, ni vous ni moi ne le savons.

Q. Vous avez tantôt mentionné que vous ne (inaudible) pas personnellement, d'insérer ... (inaudible) l'article 133 à l'Ontario. Est-ce que ça veut dire ... (inaudible) ...

R. On est en pleine supposition, là. Mais ... qui présenterait cet amendement? On m'a dit Monsieur Nystrom. Si Nystrom présente cette proposition, je trouve qu'il aura l'air hypocrite, à moins qu'il est assez mal venu comme Saskatchewanais d'aller dire à l'Ontario comment ils devraient s'habiller. Que Monsieur Nystrom commence à donner des ordres, qu'il engage son propre premier ministre Blakeney, qui est de son propre Parti, à faire ce geste vis-à-vis des Franco-saskatchewanais, et ensuite il pourra se permettre d'aller faire la leçon ... (inaudible)...

Q. (Inaudible)

R. Non, non, vous avez raison. Je pense qu'on est dans l'invraisemblable absolu à ce moment-là.

Q. ...(inaudible)

A. Je pense que l'amendement Nystrom ne restera pas seul.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE HELD IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, JANUARY 30, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE, OTTAWA, LE 30 JANVIER 1981.

THE CHAIRMAN: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. The Prime Minister does not have an opening statement. I will take names from the floor. This is a 30-minute news conference.

Charles Lynch.

CHARLES LYNCH (Southam News Services): Prime Minister, you have told us what you might do if you succeed with your constitutional initiative, and that is that it might hasten your retirement.

It seems to me that the obstacles are increasing in the face of it, and the prospect that you might not succeed becomes more real. How would you react to that, if it turns out that the roadblocks are too great?

A. I will stay around until it is done.

Q. Then, can you tell us, in the current context, what the difference is between negotiating, as you have been doing with the NDP and with Premier Blakeney, and refusing to negotiate further with the premiers, as the Opposition has been asking you to do?

A. I have negotiated with the premiers. I have been negotiating with them for some 12 years now, and I know their answer. They have given it to me repeatedly over 12 years. They gave it to me as recently as last September.

I think Premier Lyon summed it up beautifully in London -- was it yesterday or the day before? -- "We want patriation with unanimity as an amending formula, and we want nothing done without unanimity." And that, of course, is what has blocked it for 54 years now. There is always one province that does not agree.

I want to remind you that in April, 1975 again-- because I had been doing it for some seven years -- I wrote a letter to all the premiers saying, "Let's do simple patriation with the Victoria amending formula that we all agreed on." And I wrote that letter in following up a dinner we had had, the 11 of us, some two weeks before, where we sort of said, "Yes, it is time it should be done; let's do it -- just patriation with an amending formula, and let's do it with the Victoria one, and let's do it in time for the Olympics, which are one year from now, and the Queen will be here and we will do it."

And you know what? Guess what -- the premiers hemmed and hawed for another six years, and they are still

saying the same thing -- "We will do it if we can all agree." But they know Lévesque won't agree, and they know that Lougheed won't agree, and they know Peckford won't agree. And Clark wants that too.

So, what they are saying is: "The people want this. Let's give it to them, but let's not."

Do you want the letters? I think some guy should -- they have been published in these constitutional documents. Maybe it is worth giving you something to jolt your memory.

After this letter the premiers said, "Well, let's think it over, and /we will discuss it at the premiers' conference next August." I think Blakeney was the chairman of the premiers' conference. So came next August and they discussed it, and then by September/October they said, "Well, we have not quite finished agreeing amongst ourselves, so we will let you know later."

And all through the year I kept chiding them, saying, "The Olympics are coming next summer."

So, they had a meeting of their attorneys general, and then they had another premiers' conference in August of 1976, and that year I think Lougheed was the chairman. So he said, "Okay, okay, we will patriate with an amending formula,

but here is our shopping list" -- and they had 11 items or 13 -- I am not sure -- that we would have to do at the same time.

Mr. Lougheed sent me this letter in October, 1976, and of course in November the PQ were elected, and we had a First Ministers' Conference in December, 1976 ---

MR. LYNCH: I remember that.

A. You remember that one.

MR. LYNCH: Yes, I do.

A. And you remember that we couldn't even agree on a communiqué, let alone on patriation and an amending formula, because Mr. Lévesque didn't want a communiqué and the premiers said, "Well, let's humour Mr. Lévesque." All of them said that. That is why, when Premier Hatfield says it won't be done, it will never be done, because you will never have unanimity -- and Premier Davis thinks the same thing. Because these two people want patriation with an amending formula, but nobody else does until they have their shopping lists satisfied.

People have to make some sense. We cannot fail forever./ And Lyon said publicly in London just a couple of days ago -- what did he say? -- that the British Parliament should

patriate the Constitution and impose on us the amending formula. Talk about colonialism! He is telling them what to do, except what he is telling them to do is a prescription for doing nothing forever, because we know that we will never get unanimity, and that is the condition that Premier Lyon and the others want. Except some of them are smart. They say, "When you can't get unanimity, let the province opt out of whatever the others decide to do." So, that's fine. We would have a great Constitution, with Quebec opting out of one thing, Alberta another. We would be 11 kinds of Canadians depending on the province you live in.

I earnestly ask some of those who are trying to reflect on this to look at the history of it.

I just happen to have that letter here. Patrick has it -- the April, 1975 letter. I have talked about it in the House many times -- "Let's do only this." And I think we agreed to it at dinner time, but then when they see they are going to get it, they start adding their shopping lists.

And don't just read that letter. Read the shopping list that Premiers Blakeney and Lougheed brought up in the name of the provinces. When I would meet people like Hatfield or Alex Campbell, or Gerald Regan, or Ed Schreyer, I would say, "You know, how come? You guys want to patriate." "Oh yes, but we cannot break the front of the provinces." And that is what happened last September when we met on the

Friday morning at my house. They had their shopping list, and I said, "Well, you know, we cannot do it all. We are not about to give everything the provinces are asking now -- fisheries to one, the offshore to the other, cultural sovereignty to the next, the right to separate or what was self-determination that the other wanted, and so on."

We are not about to give that. So, a couple of them, who will remain nameless unless they want to name themselves, got up and said, "Okay, well let's forget the shopping list and make a deal." And two of them, who shall not remain nameless, Bennett and Peckford, stood up and shook their fists and said, "Hey, we just had breakfast this morning and we vowed that we would never split the common front, and what are you guys saying -- that you are going to make a deal on patriation?" So, the others just gently bowed their heads and said, "Yes, we did vow at breakfast this morning never to break the common front."

So, the thing failed -- and you heard it fail in public that Saturday morning on television.

So, what is the situation now? Everybody says we must patriate with an amending formula, and the Tory Party even says the people want a Charter of Rights. I quoted Mr. Epp yesterday again in the House of Commons. Get his document. He said the people want an amending formula, they want patriation, and they want a charter. And instead of saying,

"Let's give it to them," they say, "Let's have one more conference and one more meeting and one more try" -- this very same day that Premier Lyon is saying that nothing can be done without unanimity and when he is saying, also, that there will never be a charter "except over my dead body." And the Tories say they want a charter and they are going to get it from the consent of the people!

Either they do not want a charter or they should not be in politics, because they are not prepared to take moral means, the law of Parliament, to achieve a desirable end, one that they say is desirable, a charter for the people.

How much time do we have left?

MR. LYNCH: Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now for the second half of the news conference! Ken Lawrence.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Talking about preaching to the converted, Charles.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ken Lawrence, and then Denis Labrecque.

KEN LAWRENCE (CHCH Hamilton, ATV Halifax): Prime Minister, in the light of the report out of the British ommittee yesterday about recommending against your formula, do you now see merit in Premier Hatfield's comments of 10 days ago in Britain that if the British Parliament doesn't act, Canada may have to declare unilateral declaration of independence?

A. I think I will just leave Mr. Kershaw with his problem. He has just, I think, recommended that simple patriation be proceeded with with the amending formula, and Premier Lyon, the same day, was saying, "It won't be the Victoria amending formula " -- which Kershaw seems to prefer -- "it will be the unanimity one."

So, let Mr. Kershaw now struggle with that one. He has said there would be no problem with simple patriation and an amending formula. He has a problem on his hands now. Is he going to impose on Canada the Victoria Formula or the unanimity formula?

Q. What about Hatfield's comments? Could it come to that?

A. Would what come to that? What comments?

Q. What if the British Parliament doesn't act, Canada may have to unilaterally declare its independence.

A. Ah, that won't happen, because the British Parliament will act. I have the word of the Prime Minister.

THE CHAIRMAN: Denis Labrecque.

DENIS LABRECQUE, Télémédia: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans le dossier constitutionnel vous avez souvent reproché à vos homologues des provinces de vouloir troquer les droits fondamentaux pour des barils de pétrole ou des barils de poisson et cette semaine aux Communes vous avez déclaré avoir refusé d'inscrire le droit à la propriété dans la Constitution pour conserver l'appui du NPD et vous avez ajouté que vous seriez disposé à l'inscrire, ce droit, dans la Constitution si les Conservateurs appuyaient votre projet de résolution.

Voici ma question. Quelle différence faites-vous entre le troc d'un baril de poisson contre les droits fondamentaux ou le troc de ces mêmes droits fondamentaux contre un baril de votes?

R. Eh bien, dans un cas il s'agit de donner à la population ce que les partis disent que la population canadienne veut et, dans l'autre cas, il s'agit de donner à une province plutôt qu'au gouvernement du Canada la juridiction dans un domaine particulier.

Il s'agit de savoir si on cherche le bien commun ou le bien particulier. Moi, je cherche le bien commun, et si on me prouve que le bien commun tel qu'exprimé par la majorité des provinces veut le droit de propriété dans la Constitution, enchâssé, je le mettrai. C'est aussi simple que cela.

J'ai essayé, je l'ai dit depuis le début, j'essaie d'avoir le consensus maximun; j'essaie

d'avoir le plus de gens d'accord possible. Evidemment, j'ai une charte idéale dans ma tête, mais on l'a proposée au mois de juin, cette charte idéale. Elle comprenait le droit de propriété. Les provinces l'ont rejetée. Alors, j'ai dit, bon, on va l'enlever.

C'est comme tous ces autres amendements qu'on a faits dans notre charte idéale. Il y avait, par exemple, les droits légaux que les provinces ont dit:"ça va trop loin, alors, enlevez ça." On a tout enlevé pensant que les provinces diraient:"bien, la charte étant moins qu'idéale, on va se mettre d'accord." Elles ne se sont pas mises d'accord.

Prenez le cas des droits à l'égalité,"non discrimination rights". C'était dans notre charte du mois de juin mais les provinces ont dit, non, on ne veut pas les avoir, et caetera, et puis elles ont dit: "donnez-nous au moins trois... quatre ans pour les mettre en application." Eh bien, on a mis trois... quatre ans, c'est dans la charte.

Ce n'est pas idéal mais, encore une fois, on s'est plié en quatre pour essayer de rencontrer le vouloir de celui-ci, les désirs de celui-là, les exigences du NPD, les demandes du Premier Davis, les exigences de monsieur Campbell, les demandes formelles de monsieur Blakeney. Batêche! on a négocié. On a essayé de mettre le plus de

de choses possible ou le moins de choses possible pour plaire au plus de gens possible. Tout ce que je dis c'est qu'à un moment donné il faut marcher. On ne peut pas plaire à tout le monde et à son père, c'est sûr. A un moment donné, on marche.

Si vous appelez cela troquer, je n'ai pas d'objection. Simplement, à un moment donné quand après 53 ans de troquage il n'y a rien qui se fait... Je ne blâme pas plus Monsieur Peckford de demander les droits sous-marins que je blâmerais Monsieur Lévesque ou Monsieur Bourassa de demander la souveraineté culturelle ou que je blâmerais Monsieur Lévesque de vouloir inscrire dans la Constitution le droit à l'auto détermination. Chaque premier ministre élu a le droit de demander ce qu'il veut. Simplement, quand le total de toutes ces demandes-là égale zéro comme action, il faut arrêter de troquer et il faut commencer à agir.

Qui est prêt à marcher? Or, Davis a dit, moi, je suis prêt à marcher. Hatfield a dit: moi, je suis prêt à marcher. Broadbent dit: "moi, je suis prêt à marcher." Blakeney, il ne le sait toujours pas. Il ne le saura jamais d'ailleurs.

Alors, moi, je marche avec ceux qui sont prêts à marcher et je m'organise pour ne pas les perdre. C'est aussi simple que cela.

MICHEL GUENARD, AFP: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans l'histoire de Dakar vous aviez dit que la France commençait à ne pas respecter tellement son principe de non-ingérence lorsqu'elle disait au Canada...

R. Je ne suis pas d'accord, je n'ai pas dit cela. Vous citez mal mes paroles.

Q. De non-ingérence lorsque la France disait au Canada...

R. Vous avez fait une histoire diplomatique avec cela. N'inventez donc pas des histoires. Pas vous. Je ne sais pas ce que vous écrivez mais...

Q. Je laisse tomber cette question...

R. Vous pouvez terminer si vous voulez mais je ne suis pas pour répondre à des questions qui sont à côté de la question.

Q. ... vous en arrivez à ceci, monsieur le Premier ministre, c'est lorsque monsieur Kershaw à Londres vous dit que lorsqu'on refait la Constitution canadienne, vous employez la méthode et qu'il faudra avoir l'unanimité ou une majorité des provinces avec le gouvernement fédéral.

Est-ce que vous trouvez que monsieur Kershaw fait un peu d'ingérence dans la politique canadienne?

R. C'est pareil! Je ne pensais pas que votre question aurait raison; elle a raison!

Non, non. Mais voyez-vous ça? J'irais faire un discours en Alberta pour dire que la France demande que nous donnions au Québec le droit à l'auto-détermination, qu'est-ce que vous en pensez, vous autres, les Albertains, ou vous autres, les gens du Manitoba? Hein? On dirait: "Batêche! La France n'a pas d'affaires à déciser pour nous ce qu'on va faire avec notre politique. Ils n'ont rien qu'à dire la même chose pour Kershaw, et pour le Parlement britannique. Ils n'ont pas d'affaires à décider ce qui est bon pour le Canada. C'est aussi simple que cela. C'est de l'ingérence de la Grande-Bretagne, enfin, de monsieur Kershaw. C'est un peu comme les grenouilleurs dont parlait De Gaulle. Mais heureusement que dans le cas de la Grande-Bretagne le Premier ministre et le chef de l'Etat savent qu'il ne faut pas faire d'ingérence mais... dans le cas de la France, je ne suis pas sûr.

THE CHAIRMAN: Doug Small, to be followed by John Ferguson.

DOUG SMALL (Global TV): Prime Minister, do you share President Reagan's view that the leaders of the Soviet Union are amoral, and they will commit any crime, lie and cheat, to further their aims of world domination?

A. Well now, that is an interesting view. I will have to discuss it with President Reagan when he asks my advice on that.

Q. Do you think that he will ask your advice on it when you meet?

A. I don't know. If he wants to put it on the agenda, I will say it is suggested by one Doug Small, and when he has told me, I will give you the answer.

I am not about to comment on President Reagan's foreign policies until I see what shape they take. He's probably got a plan.

THE CHAIRMAN: John Ferguson, to be followed by Jeffrey Simpson.

JOHN FERGUSON (Canadian Press): Prime Minister, did you ever imply or suggest to the British government that you might take Canada out of the Commonwealth or act unilaterally if the British did interfere with the passage of the Joint Resolution?

A. That is two questions is it? Act unilaterally to patriate or / act unilaterally to take Canada out of the Commonwealth?

Q. No, I'm sorry. Would you act unilaterally to declare a Constitution -- a UDI, in other words -- and did you suggest in any way that Canada would withdraw from the Commonwealth?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. To both? Would you?

A. You know what I said, though. I did not suggest that Canada would withdraw from the Commonwealth; I said it would be funny for Britain to remain in the Commonwealth and to have refused to give complete and final independence to one of its former colonies when that has been requested. It is not a question of us withdrawing, no more than ---

Q. Are you suggesting that they should withdraw?

A. I didn't say that. I just said they might find it difficult to justify their position when we meet in Melbourne.

THE CHAIRMAN: Jeffrey Simpson.

JEFFREY SIMPSON (Globe and Mail): Prime Minister, two questions, but if your answer to the first one is too long, I will beg off the second one.

You said last week that you had a guarantee from Mrs. Thatcher that she would apply a three-line whip, but that you had also warned her -- this was in June -- that there might in fact not be consensus in Canada.

I am wondering whether in fact Mrs. Thatcher at that particular moment could have in any way envisaged, or whether in fact you in any way gave her to believe, that there might be six provinces who opposed it in the courts; there were two others who were either sitting on the fence or in principle. In short, that there was any way for Mrs. Thatcher to know the degree of opposition in Canada and that therefore the commitment that she gave you at that time was given under what she thought to be very, very different circumstances than they turned out to be.

A. I answered this question, I think, two weeks ago at this press conference. We had a long discussion on that,

and she had one of her ministers there, who is no longer a minister, advising her on the situation. I made it quite clear that we had failed for 53 years; that we were hopeful to succeed this time; that we had had a meeting in June of all of the premiers and myself that might be encouraging because we had a high work schedule in the fall. But 53 years of history of Canada and 12 years of personal experience made me warn her that it is quite possible that we would have to come without the support of the provinces.

I do not think we ever discussed numbers, if you are asking (if I told her) six of the provinces. I didn't guess that number. But I said -- and I told Mr. Callaghan and I told Mr. Steele the same thing -- "I cannot guarantee that we will have the support of the provinces, all, or some, or what."

So she knew, and when I see in this morning's front page of one paper -- I am not sure which one -- that the British said they would only do it, of course, if it was a simple package and it didn't have any opposition in Canada, that is pure invention on the reporter's part -- pure invention. The British never said that. They said, "Prime Minister, in a request from the Canadian Parliament in its capacity of asking Britain to amend the BNA Act, we have no choice. It will be a government bill. There will be three-line whip on it."

It couldn't be clearer. I am not saying Mrs. Thatcher is going to be able to deliver Parliament. That is another matter. But that is her problem; it is not ours, and it certainly should not be the Canadian people's problem. When the Canadian Parliament speaks on behalf of the Canadian people, the British may or may not disagree, they may prefer Mr. Kershaw's amending formula to Mr. Lyon's, or they may prefer Mr. Lyon's to Mr. Lougheed's, or they may prefer all of them to the Victoria Formula, but if they think that they are going to have a simple gain if they just give patriation with an amending formula, they are beginning to see that it will be just as complicated, and we won't have the provinces on board any more than we had them after this 1975 letter.

You haven't seen the provinces get together in the past six months and saying, "Gee, what Trudeau is doing is awful. Let's meet together. We want simple patriation with an amending formula, and here it is."

They are saying "No" to that for the past 53 years, and they haven't said "Yes" to it in the past six months -- so I was telling Mr. Clark in the House yesterday.

So, if Mr. Kershaw and the British think that they are going to have it easy by simplifying the package, they have the answer to that now. It won't be any easier. They won't get the provinces on side.

And what would justify them in saying, "Well, we won't listen to the Canadian Parliament when it asks for a charter, but we will listen to the Canadian Parliament when it asks for an amending formula which the provinces don't want?"

They will still have the same amount of lobbies over there. You will still have this great federalist, Mr. Lévesque, have his people over there to wine and dine the British backbenchers and tell them that what we are doing to federalism is awful, thinking that they would be stupid enough to forget that he wanted to break up the country as recently as last May.

But, you know, if they want to listen to him as a true federalist, I think the Canadian people will begin to ask the kind of question we were asking earlier.

You know, if the French interfere in our affairs, everybody is indignant. Well, I suggest that they might get indignant if the British interfere in our affairs, too.

And just because Quebec wanted to go to Dakar doesn't mean that the Canadian people should do what Quebec says. Just because Mr. Lyon wants a particular thing, or Mr. Peckford, doesn't mean the British Parliament should give it to him. And we object when the French decide how we will conduct our foreign affairs, and rightly so, and I think we would object if the British decided how we should conduct our constitutional affairs.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dave Halton.

DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV News): Prime Minister, maybe it was because you felt you had to be discreet emerging from 10 Downing Street last June, but I remember when you came out of that meeting with Mrs. Thatcher we asked you specifically whether you discussed what would happen if the provinces and the federal government were at odds on the Constitution, and you said at the time that the hypothesis didn't come up ---

A. If the federal government and who were at odds?

Q. -- and the provinces were at odds on the constitutional package, and you said at that time that the hypothesis didn't come up; that it wasn't discussed.

A. Well, you really have me there. I cannot contradict you. If I said it, it must have been with tongue in cheek, and

I honestly would want to see the transcript of that, if there is any. I wasn't alone with Mrs. Thatcher. There were several federal officials and I think one Member of Parliament, and Mrs. Thatcher had with her at least

one or two ministers and several officials. If they were to say it didn't come up, I would have to make apologies all around.

Q. It was you who said it didn't come up.

A. Yes. Well, if I said that coming out of Downing Street, it must have been the kind of thing I am saying now -- "We will do it." Some things you say to put on a confidence, that you are not looking for a fight, that you really believe that everything is going to be roses and hunky-dory. and so on.

I honestly don't remember saying that. It doesn't make sense to me that I did, unless we had -- but you remember it?

Q. Yes. Your exact words were: "I didn't bring up that hypothesis, and I do not believe Mrs. Thatcher brought it up either."

A. Well, Patrick, have you got a record of that or shall we take Halton's word?

THE CHAIRMAN: Bob Douglas.

ROBERT DOUGLAS (Canadian Press): Prime Minister, if opposition to the constitutional package really is as serious as it is made out in London, would you be prepared to wait for another year before taking the package to London?

A. No.

Q. Even if Mrs. Thatcher tells you that she cannot fit it into her schedule?

A. No. It will be there on their desks within days after it has been adopted by the Canadian Parliament. If they think the problem is going to get easier by letting it drag around for a year or two, I think they are not very good politicians. If they are wise, they will get it through quickly and hold their nose while they are doing it and send it over.

Q. What can you do if she tells you that she cannot fit it into her parliamentary schedule?

A. Well, report/to that to the Canadian people -- the British are too busy to give us our independence.

THE CHAIRMAN: Francois Perreault.

FRANCOIS PERREAULT Q. Monsieur Trudeau, suite à cette question justement, connaissant la tradition britannique politique, souvent ça peut être assez long parce que les gens ne sont pas d'accord dans ce camp-là, est-ce qu'il y aurait des moyens auxquels vous avez déjà pensé, j'imagine, pour intervenir, pour faire pression parce que, évidemment, tant que le débat a lieu à Londres, on peut dire, les Britanniques s'occupent du dossier de la Constitution canadienne. Ca ne veut pas dire que ça va procéder dans des délais raisonnables, enfin, à vos yeux.

R. Quand vous dites que souvent ça peut être assez long, regardez, ça leur a pris trois jours de débat pour décider d'entrer dans la Communauté européenne, dans le Marché commun. C'est long, pour eux, trois jours de débat pour faire une décision qui changeait le cours de l'histoire britannique.

Or, je m'étonnerais qu'ils ne puissent pas trouver trois jours pour nous. Ce que peut-être certains Britanniques pensent, vous savez, la formule "muddling through , something is bound to turn up", comme disait Dickens... Mais ce que je viens de dire c'est que s'ils croient, les Britanniques, qu'en laissant traîner l'affaire ça va devenir plus facile, ils se trompent gravement. Parce qu'une requête pour obtenir formellement notre indépendance qui poireaute sur les tablettes britanniques parce qu'ils sont trop occupés

pour en décider, j'ai l'impression que ça ne regarderait pas bien en Grande-Bretagne ni ailleurs dans le Commonwealth, ni au Canada surtout.

Q. Si je peux me permettre, justement au Canada, est-ce qu'une telle situation susciterait peut-être un avantage pour vous au niveau de la population, au niveau des gens qui peut-être sont dissidents ou disent que ce n'est pas une priorité pour tout de suite, et que même les plus récalcitrants qui, voyant que ça traîne en Grande-Bretagne, finiraient peut-être par adopter vos intentions.

R. C'est une hypothèse.

Q. Est-ce que vous voulez élaborer un peu là-dessus?

R. C'est une hypothèse mais je n'y ai pas songé. Je n'y ai pas songé. (fin de la réponse en anglais).

I guess this answer is the kind of answer I probably gave you at Downing Street. I didn't think about that. Don't quote me at some time and say, "You should have thought about it." I just don't want to say I thought about it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have two more questioners on my list, Norm Fetterley and Bruce Phillips.

NORMAN FETTERLEY (CFTO-TV): Prime Minister, the suggestion has been made that a way out of this impasse ---

A. Oh, good.

Q. Well, I would like to lay claim to originality, but it isn't mine. It originates from London.

The suggestion is that they do not expect unanimity on the part of the provinces and the federal government. They suggest that you use your recommended amending formula to try and get the package through in Canada, or at least try to substantially increase the support by other means -- not unanimity, but, let us say, six of the ten provinces rather than two, and something more than 64 per cent opposed in the public polls.

A. Well, that would be nice if they can succeed where I failed. My 1975 letter suggested exactly that -- six provinces, amending formula, patriate, let's get it done, and then we can discuss in Canada the Charter of Rights and everything else. The provinces said, "No."

So, if the British can get them to say "Yes," maybe I will take a look at it.

Q. The world has turned a bit, though, since 1975 ---

A. Has it really? Did you listen to Mr. Lyon yesterday? You didn't listen to him obviously, but have you read what he said? -- unanimity, my boy.

Q. But you don't need unanimity. The point of the Kershaw people is that you don't need unanimity; you just need greater support.

A. Well, let them tell that to Mr. Lyon and get Mr. Lyon to say, "Okay, I will go for the Victoria formula," and Mr. Clark and Mr. Lougheed. You know, let them negotiate. If Mr. Kershaw wants to get into the business of the Canadian Constitution -- welcome; welcome.

He is coming to Alberta, I think. I hope he talks about his formula to Mr. Lougheed. Make a note of it. He is coming to Alberta, I think, next month. Make sure you track him down and ask him: "Is Mr. Lougheed ready to accept your formula -- simple patriation with the Victoria Formula?"

THE CHAIRMAN: Bruce Phillips.

BRUCE PHILLIPS (CTV News): Prime Minister, what is wrong with the proposal to seek a specific mandate from the Canadian people for your constitutional package, either by way of a referendum or a general election?

Since you are prepared to contemplate future constitutional change by those means, why not now?

A. There is nothing wrong with it.

Q. It would certainly end the argument about how much support you have.

A. It may have to come. We will see. You don't even know when Bill Davis is calling his election. His will come before mine. But there is nothing wrong with it.

But your argument can also be turned the other way -- why don't the British do what we ask?

If somebody wants to campaign against it, if Mr. Clark asks for a general election -- once the charter is home, and the Constitution is home, if I am pushed far enough next June, say, by Mr. Clark, or after we proclaim the thing, saying, "Look, I want to run an election to get authority from the Canadian people to take out the Charter," I would run an election on that.

Q. Ha-ha.

A. Ha-ha what? What "ha-ha"? You are laughing like Mr. Clark.

Q. You have just written him a losing platform. You have a whole package.

A. Sure, because Mr. Clark says the Canadian people want a charter. That is what the Tories say. They want a charter, they want patriation, they want an amending formula, and I say, "Let's give it to them, and if you want an election on that, we will have it -- on these things, not on whether we are doing it unilaterally with six rather than seven, or ten rather than five, or whether we are taking the Alberta formula. Let's give it to them."

Q. You have a package now. Why don't you put it to the people?

A. When I get a package, I may put it to the people,precisely.

THE CHAIRMAN: On that happy note, that concludes the press conference.

Government Publications

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TRANSCRIPT OF QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION, PRIME MINISTER AND STUDENTS OF OSGOODE HALL LAW SCHOOL, AT YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, ON FEBRUARY 5, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION D'UNE SEANCE DE QUESTIONS ET REPONSES ENTRE LE PREMIER MINISTRE ET LES ETUDIANTS DE L'ECOLE DE DROIT DE OSGOODE HALL A L'UNIVERSITE YORK, TORONTO, LE 5 FEVRIER 1981

Students, let me just very briefly try and put the span of your professional eyes into the span of our country, then we'll get on to questions.

It's less than two decades to the end of this century. We are closer to the twenty-first century than we are to the beginnings of Quebec's quiet revolution. When the twenty-first century arrives, most of you in this room will not even yet have reached the mid-point in your careers. By the time you retire from the bench, this country will be two-thirds of its way from its first centennial to its second centennial. That is the scope of the life your profession will put you in.

What kind of a country will you leave behind? I couldn't say. There might be another Prime Minister, but I wouldn't promise it. But I will promise you one thing: By the time they put you out to pasture, you will have spent less time living under the Canadian Constitutional Act now before Parliament than most of us alive have spent in constitutional deadlock and frustration.

So, let me just ask you one question before you ask me questions. Do you want to spend the rest of your lives solving problems and building this country, or do you want to spend the rest of your lives as we have, with the problem that there's no way of solving the problems? That is not only the question you must ask yourselves but that is the question before Parliament now.

Q. Yesterday, Premier Peckford was here, and he said part of his problem is that he developed some mistrust for the negotiating process. I'm not exactly sure what he's speaking of, but the proposed Constitution had a few surprises for him that he wasn't very happy with. For example, the national referendum, and just recently there have been some allegations about secrets kept between yourself and Prime Minister Thatcher, and I was just wondering, if that is true there're some secrets being kept and there's a basis for the mistrust and maybe the reason for the stalemate. And I was just wondering if you could comment on perhaps this specific issue of the last couple of days about the five documents that came out yesterday, for example, between MacGuigan and Pym?

A. Let me point out first that if there is mistrust, it hasn't been generated in the last few days, or the last few weeks, or the last few months, or the last few years. The stalemate that you and I are talking about has existed at least since 1927.

Even before that, politicians in the last century were attempting to think of an amending formula for Canada so that we could have a Canadian Constitution. But in an organized systematic way, it began in 1927 under Mackenzie King. It was attempted again under Mr. Bennett, then again under Mr. King, then under Mr. Saint-Laurent; and then Mr. Diefenbaker attempted it. And then Mr. Pearson tried, and finally I'm trying. And during all that period, I don't know how many dozens of premiers have replaced themselves in office. So I don't think you can foist off the present systematic obstruction on personalities or mistrust that arise out of the way my government has tried to deal with this problem in the past 12 years. It's something which goes back 54 years. And it spells "stalemate". And that's why I was asking you: Do you believe in miracles? Do you think that the unanimity which Premier Sterling Lyon, just again two or three days ago in London, said should be the rule for changing our Constitution? Do you think unanimity is going to happen when Peckford or Trudeau have gone? Do you think the politicians of the next 50 years will be somehow different from those of today?

Q. ...come very close to unanimity on several of the issues, 10 of the 11 provinces agreed on...

A. It came very close in 1971 at Victoria.

Q. It's just this September I was thinking of.

A. It didn't come really close at all in September. In 1971, everybody agreed on everything, including patriation

and the amending process, except one province said that it also wanted to have, as part of the bargain, total jurisdiction over social policy - not legislation, but policy generally. And it came quite close in '75 when we agreed that we should bring it back with an amending formula, until one in the other provinces said: Well, let's add something on immigration, and Mr. Bourassa was saying let's add something on cultural sovereignty. And I suppose you can say it came close this summer, if only Mr. Peckford had got the offshore, and if only Mr. Levesque had had the right to specify in the Constitution that provinces can declare their independence. And if we... pardon?

Q. There was only one province that disagreed with the offshore jurisdiction question.

A. There was only one province that what?

Q. There was only one province that disagreed to the offshore jurisdiction.

A. There was one province and the federal government. And there was only one province and no federal government that disagreed on family law, for instance, that it should be put under the jurisdiction of the provinces. I don't know then how many provinces disagreed that the provinces should be given the right to self-determination. They didn't say. I know I disagreed. I don't know how many provinces disagreed with the so-called Vancouver Formula, which is the Alberta Formula, which permits any province to opt out of the general consensus, of the general will, and say the Constution will not apply to me. I know there are several, but they didn't say it.

No, we really didn't come very close because we were

in a bargaining process. We will give you the Constitution, they were saying to the Canadian Parliament and Government, we will give you a Canadian Constitution with an amending formula providing - and a charter, well they weren't even sure they'd give us a charter of Rights, certainly some of them wouldn't - but providing you give us... then, the list began. And the list has been changing and growing larger, not smaller, since 1963. Before, we didn't agree in the many, many attempts since 1927, because we couldn't agree on the amending formula with unanimity. But finally, in 1971, we all agreed on the amending formula. All agreed on it. And then, whoops, one province thought that they also needed a little more jurisdiction, some transfer from Section 91 or 92, that we wouldn't be able to use the spending power to give family allowances or old age pensions. We should give the money to the provinces so that they should give family allowances. And when the provinces caught onto that, that jeez they can bargain more rights for themselves, well then the cat was out of the bag. What was good for Quebec in '71 became good for everybody in '75, '76, '77. So what did we have in 1979, in February, when the Federal Government said: OK, you want these, well here's what we'll do on immigration, and here's what we're prepared to do on international trade. Imagine. We were prepared to give the provinces jurisdiction over international trade, and of course over interprovincial trade. And we were prepared to give them the right to indirect taxation, which they do not have now, as you know. And we were prepared to give them, of course, family law. And we were prepared to put something even stronger on resources in the Constitution. But you know they said: Well, if we can get all this in exchange for unanimity on patriating the Constitution, let's add to the list. So Mr. Levesque

added the right to self-determination, and forbade us from using the expression "the Canadian nation". We must not write in any constitutional document that there is a Canadian nation, because there are two as everyone knows. So the bargaining is going on forever, and that's why I ask you the question. Should we use the last recourse we have now to break the logjam so that once we have our Constitution with an amending formula that will be which everyone, the provinces or the people, decide. Because if the provinces don't want the Victoria Formula or the Toronto Formula, we'll ask the people. But once it is home with an amending formula, then Canadians can begin to change things. They perhaps can answer the 20-year-old question: What does Quebec want? And the 10-year-old question of what does the West want? And the 5-year-old question of what does Newfoundland want? Ask ourselves: What do you want? And we'll try and negotiate the answer and we can put it in the Constitution.

We agreed, as you say, minus one person last summer on family law. But we couldn't put it in the Constitution, because that means going to London. A lot of us agree on the Charter of Rights; even the Progressive Conservative Party says that the people want a Charter of Rights. But how do you put it in? There's one way of doing it now, it's going to London one last time. It's not our preferred course. It's one that we've been trying to resist certainly since I've been in office and certainly one that no one wanted to do before. But that is the way you amend our basic constitution, by going to the United Kingdom.

By the Canadian Parliament adopting a Joint Resolution asking the Canadian, asking the British Parliament to act one last time, so we can be the last of the colonials. One last time so that they legislate no more over Canada. That's the way it has always been done. The debate is not on whether that's the way it's been done or not. As you know, the students of constitutional law, it has always since 1867 been the Canadian Parliament by Joint Resolution asking the British Parliament to do something. The debate is on: Do you need the support of the 10 provinces or five, or six, or a majority, or of the regions, or of none at all? I mean that's the debate. And it's the debate is going on in Canada as it properly should. I suggest it shouldn't properly go on in the United Kingdom, but that's probably the subject of another question.

As to the four documents yesterday, I apologize I don't know what those documents are. I was in Brandon and I haven't been briefed. But if you want to ask precise questions, I'll attempt to answer them.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I have a question to ask that to me is very essential to this entire debate and really strikes at one of the basic tensions which has existed throughout our Confederation. It's one that I don't think there's any easy answer to, and I'm inclined to think of late that there is no answer at all, and that's the tension which exists particularly when you're talking about the essential or majority interest as opposed to the minority interest in confederation. And I'm speaking of minorities in terms

of provincial minorities. I'll use Newfoundland as a specific example since that's the province that I'm most familiar with, being a Newfoundlander myself. And I'd like you to address the issue taking specifically the offshore oil issue. In my mind, one of the greatest threats to Newfoundland, as well as one of the greatest potential booms to Newfoundland, is that offshore oil industry. And the only real point that our government has, and it's one that I sympathize with entirely, is that our interests could well diverge from the national interests. For example, we're more interested in a slower pace of development. We're interested in ensuring that a maximum benefit obtains to Newfoundland's entire infrastructure, that the fishery isn't wiped out, that the construction industry develops at a smooth pace, that towns and communities are able to remain towns and communities and not just boom centres that are going to boom for the next 20 or 30 years. I believe the government that we have in Newfoundland is capable of dealing with and recognizing these problems, but I'm not so sure that we can expect the central government to have that same sympathy and sensitivity, especially since Newfoundland only has seven seats on the federal level and we have... I would like you to address that issue and...

A. You are arguing that in some areas the province can do better for the citizens of that province than the national government. That's a valid argument. For instance, the provinces are better shall we say at... I didn't mean to be cynical, I was going to choose a constitutional example. The Fathers of Confederation decided that the provinces would be better at having exercising

jurisdiction over property and civil rights. They argued, and they put that in the Constitution, that the federal government would be better in dealing with international affairs. So, you can make that argument. That the province would deal better with social development falling from the offshore than the federal government. But that is not the question. The question is: What does the Constitution say? What is the law of Canada? You remember Hans Kelsun: There is one basic precept at the base of all civil societies, it's that the Constitution must be obeyed. We can change the Constitution if we find a formula. But let us first know what the Constitution says. Does the Constitution say that the offshore belongs to all Canadians? Or does it say it belongs to one province? That's what we've been asking Mr. Peckford and before him Mr. Moores too, to decide. If we can't agree amongst ourselves, let's get the courts to decide. Now, it may well be that if it falls under federal jurisdiction, we will not exercise that jurisdiction wisely. And then, your recourse will be to change the national government and put one in that does exercise it wisely. But don't make the same argument as, for instance, my own province which says: You don't exercise wisely your jurisdiction in international affairs. And the Province of Saskatchewan that says: You don't wisely, you Ottawa, exercise your jurisdiction in the area of international trade, because I know how to sell my potash more than Ottawa does. And Quebec says: I know how to express the French aspect of Canada more than Ottawa does, so I should have embassies in Gabon and everywhere else. And I, Newfoundlander, can exercise jurisdiction over the offshore, although the Supreme Court has said it

belongs to the jurisdiction of the national government better than those people in Ottawa. I mean that's the argument you're making until we know what the Constitution says. So I can't say that we would be all that wise in exercising our jurisdiction over the offshore if it is given to us by the courts. I can only promise you that we would do our best. I have already stated that we would give a hundred percent of the benefits of the offshore to the repairian provinces, to Newfoundland. But I can't promise you either that if the courts say that it will be under your jurisdiction that you will exercise it wisely. Perhaps you will say: Well, Canadians, the rest of Canada can freeze in the dark, but we're going to develop it slowly here. You know, perhaps Canada can't get oil or gas from the Middle East or Venezuela and it's already been locked in by Premier Lougheed because he doesn't agree with the price, and we will lock it in because, well, we don't want to get rich too fast. You know, it may not be good for Canada.

So you don't know. This is why we live in a democracy. If you don't like the way we exercise our jurisdiction, you change it.

Q. It's hard to change the Government of Canada when you only have seven seats though.

A. Yes, but you're making the point that Canadians won't be fair and wise and that you, because you're only a couple of hundred thousand , won't be able to influence the rest of Canada to do the right thing. And now, this is the argument that is destroying Canada now. Each province saying: There is no common

good. There is no superior Canadian will. Each province must be in a position to decide if the Canadian national will, the Canadian consensus will apply to it. And this is the essence of the Lougheed formula for amendment which is supported by your Premier Peckford. That if 7 out of 10 provinces representing, for all I care, 90 percent of the population, says that we shall have a Charter of Rights, one province can say, Newfoundland or P.E.I. say, well there shall not be a Charter of Rights applying to me because I can't trust Canada. And you know that's the dilemma you're putting yourself in. And that's why the basic question before the House now, as I say, and before Canadians is, is there such thing as the Canadian common good, or is our country only composed of the addition of ten provincial common goods together? And each provincial government should be able to say that the provincial interest will prevail over the national interest when the two are in conflict. And that's exactly the question. And my answer is: That when there's a conflict of interest, not a conflict of laws, a conflict of laws will be interpreted by the courts, but when there's a conflict of interest, the national interest must prevail over the regional interest. And in our democracy, there's a national Parliament and a national government to express that interest. And maybe you can think of a better system, a different way, but you'll always come down to those basics. Is there a national will? And is some authority in our land empowered under the Constitution to speak for that national will? Who will resolve the conflict of interests between the provinces representing each part of Canada, or the federal government representing all of Canada? Who will resolve the conflict of interests?

We are saying now that under our Constitution, the guarantor of our Constitution is in Westminster. That is the situation now. Provinces must maintain law and order under provincial jurisdiction. The federal government must maintain it under federal jurisdiction, and the guarantor of it is Great Britain unfortunately, whether we like it or not. But what we are saying in our new Constitution is let's no longer make Great Britain, the guarantor. Let's make the people the guarantor. And that's why we have a referendum. When there is an ultimate conflict between the will of the people as expressed by the provinces, and the will of the people as expressed by the national government, let's ask the people what they want. Now, you will say well no fair because Newfoundland only has a small part of the people. But you know, find a better guarantor, find a better arbiter or you can argue, as I suppose some of the premiers, maybe it should be left in London for another 50 years. But, you know, give me an argument if you don't agree with my train of thought. But those are the basic issues between us. Is there, as your premier said, a system of government in Canada where the national government, where the federal government, is the agency of the provinces, or is there a system of government where there is a national government speaking for the national will, and provincial governments speaking for the various regional or provincial wills? That's the question we have to ask ourselves, and I suppose the answers will be given these months and years by the people of Canada because the argument has been made very clearly by the provinces last September in front of you all on

television. They said when the 10 provinces agree on the list of things, the federal government should consent. And we said no. Ten provinces have not the power, even by joining together, to destroy Canada or to break it up or to drastically change its jurisdiction. We say we don't even have the power to do that because we must exercise our powers within our jurisdiction, and that is why when the courts said you can't, through C-60, abolish the Senate or reform it, we said well, that's the law.

So that is why in our present project before the House of Commons and the Senate we are not changing the jurisdictions. We're just trying to get the Constitution home and give more power to the people through a Bill of Rights. There may be a change of jurisdiction in favour of the provinces if and when we accept the NDP amendment, saying that the provinces will have the power of indirect taxation in interprovincial trade. But I may be wandering a bit, so let's have some more questions.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, yesterday Premier Peckford suggested that he thought, at some point in the negotiations last fall, that Newfoundland and the federal government were closer or at least there was some sympathy expressed by the federal government for certain positions on control of offshore mineral rights, hydro-electric power and fisheries. Now, since the package being presented to London does not resolve these issues, and assuming that constitutional change will not end with this package, I was wondering what is the federal government's position, what is your position now on these issues? Is it possible, for example, that offshore rights might

eventually be given to Newfoundland and why or why not?

A. Well, you mentioned three subjects. And I apologize, I'll make my answers very brief and just rely on the supplementaries if you don't think I've gone deeply enough.

You mentioned hydro-electric power. Well, that of course is under provincial jurisdiction now. Property rights exist under the Constitution, Section 109, Property Rights to the Provinces - and they accrue to their jurisdiction under Section 92. So, we're not changing that. On the contrary, the amendment which probably is going to be discussed today is the so-called NDP amendment, which incorporates what we offered to the provinces last summer, makes that clear on hydro-electric resources.

In fisheries, the Constitution now says that it is under federal jurisdiction. On the offshore, the Constitution says nothing, but we know that the Supreme Court judgement in the British Columbia case, the British Columbia Reference says it belongs to the federal government. They may decide differently in Newfoundland. I don't know. That is what the law says now. And that is our position. But you say, will it change if we bring the Constitution home? Sure, it can change. I'm not promising I will change it. But if the people of Canada think it's fair, and as someone said earlier I think nine of the provinces sort of said it should be given to the provinces with the sea coasts, if that is what the premiers want and what the people of Canada want -- we had that situation when Mr. Joe Clark was Prime Minister. He gave the offshore to Newfoundland. He promised to give it.

One just has to elect Mr. Joe Clark, or a Tory party, or any party that says elect us and we'll give the offshore to Newfoundland. And to the Newfoundlander earlier who said that you know, they're only a small minority, I could point out to them that probably nine of the provinces would agree with that, because they all speak for their provinces. So, it can be done. You know, once we bring the Constitution home with the amending formula and the Charter of Rights, it can all be changed. Except the difference is that it will be changed in Canada according to certain rules. And we will know what they are. Whether it's the Victoria formula, or the Vancouver formula, or the Toronto formula or some other formula. It can be changed. The offshore can, if it's not done by the courts, be given to the provinces. The charter, once it's in the Constitution, can be taken out. You know, I don't see it easily happening, but I said the other day, last week that if Mr. Clark's government, if Mr. Clark's party wants to campaign on a ticket that they will take the Charter out of the Constitution, I'm prepared to fight him on that. But you know I'll respect the niceties and decencies, that if there's a leadership convention or something, I won't call a convention until... call the election until the leadership convention is over. But, you know, I won't spring one of those on him. But it can be changed. So, you know all I'm saying, like Kelson, is that the Constitution must be obeyed and if you want to change it you must use the rules provided for in the Constitution. Now, I'm getting a bit long, but I know what some of you are were thinking. There are no rules provided for changing the Constitution now. The only way we can do it is to go to London.

So we're going to London so that at last we will have some rules to change it, and you will spend the rest of your lives solving the problems of what does Newfoundland want and what does Quebec want, but you'll have the means to solve it, whereas we did not.

Q. I was just wondering. I realize that change can be made, that's fairly obvious. I was just wondering if you were personally amenable to the idea, because this is the big concern-- we're bringing the Constitution back; the federal government obviously obviously has a lot of sway in what changes will be made. Your position personally on, for example, offshore mineral rights to Newfoundland, are you yourself amenable to the idea of handing it over to the provinces in some future agreement?

A. Well, what had I proposed during the last campaign, and I proposed it in Newfoundland and we elected the majority of members there, four out of seven, and I did it at Memorial University, and the students, I think the majority of them seem to think it was fair. What I said is: Let's not argue over who owns the offshore. Let's not argue. We don't agree. You say Newfoundland owns it. We say the people of Canada own it. Let's not argue over that. Let's just set up an administrative regime that will make sure that the licences are issued jointly and let's make sure that 100 percent of the benefits from the offshore of Newfoundland go to Newfoundland, and 100 percent of the benefits offshore of Nova Scotia go to Nova Scotia, until they become a "have" province. Otherwise, until they've reached the national average in terms of revenue per capita, and then we'll make a different division. Because when you'll have

reached the national average, you don't want, I hope, to continue hogging 100 percent of the return. I hope you will want to share it with the rest of Canada. And the students of Memorial University applauded, and they elected four of seven members to Parliament as Liberals. Because I think they're fair. They don't want to spend the rest of their lives arguing about who owns what. They want to know if they will have a fair share of the benefits. And we said that they would have 100 percent of the share, as I said.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I hope my prof isn't here because this is part of my essay, and I hope you'll help me get an A on it. You've mentioned the rules of amending the Constitution. You've also mentioned the Senate a few times. Given the Senate is against abolishment of itself and you need its approval with whatever you want to do in regards to changing the whole structure of Canada, what role do you perceive for it in Canada's future and what can it do in relation to Canadian unity in regard to... this isn't the question exactly... and what can it do in relation to Canadian unity in regards to provincial complaints of lopsided representation in the House of Commons?

A. Well, what I think must be done is that as soon as we have our Constitution, as soon as we can amend it we should go about solving the tasks that you just point out. I think that the Canadian Parliament, because of the kind of problem I was discussing earlier with the questioner from Newfoundland of, you know, are the regions well balanced and are they well represented on Parliament Hill and so on, I think that there should be improvements. Two possibilities

are to change the Senate so that it speaks more clearly for the regions, rather than just being appointed, shall we say by the Governor General on recommendation by the Prime Minister, and so many by province, there should be or there could be some formula which could permit the people of the province, either by election or by some list based on party standings, or votes and so on. They should have some say in appointing the Senators. That is one approach to it. That is the one we propose in Bill C-60.

The other approach is to say: Well, you know, we won't be able to reform the Senate that easily and that quick, so let's make sure that the House of Commons in some way is more representative of the regions, or is more representative nationally. And that is the suggestion made by the Pepin-Robarts Committee that over and above the rep-by-pop formula of the House of Commons, there should be another 60 Commoners appointed on proportional representation basis. So that, for instance, the Liberal Party which has 25 or 22 percent of the votes in Alberta would get 22 percent of the seats from Alberta, so that as a national party we would have Members in the House of Commons from Alberta. And the Tory Party, for example, which has, in the last election 12 or 15 percent of the vote in Quebec, would have 12 or 15 percent of the seats in Quebec rather than -- not of the seats, of their share of the 60. And the same thing for the NDP which elects nobody in Quebec, or I guess nobody in most of the Maritimes, but they get some percentage of the vote. I forget what it is. But they would have that percentage of the seats allotted for that region. So these are two approaches. I say we tried the first approach in C-60, and

I tried the second approach after our election on the 22nd of February, or was it the 18th, anyhow, and I approached Mr. Broadbent, or he approached me - we'll never know which - and we said let's do this, and we agreed. And Mr. Clark was approached by Mr. Broadbent, and Mr. Clark disagreed. You know, we would have done it right then and there quickly,and it would have meant a different pattern in the House now. And maybe it was not easy to agree at that time-- I'm not certainly faulting Mr. Clark's decision. But what I have said is that we should,in the next session of this House set up a committee to study these two questions: Greater representativeness of the regions in the Senate, or greater representativeness of the regions in the House of Commons, the one of these two formulas. I'm afraid I can't tell your teacher which of the two will come out of it.

Q. What do you see about... does Senate approval not stand in the way of your changing the Constitution? I mean if you're going to change the Constitution,you're going to make some changes to the Senate and the Senate has to approve of that.

A. Yes, well in C-60 two years ago, we had solved that by saying that the Senate could only have a suspensive veto on its own reform. In other words, if the House of Commons and the Provinces wanted to reform the Senate in a certain way,and the Senate said no, we don't want to abolish ourselves or change the composition of the Senate, then if it passed again after a certain period in the House of Commons, then it would become the law of the Constitution. That was the proposal in C-60. That was also the proposal at Victoria. And that was the proposal and the resolution we brought before the

House of Commons in October. But the Senate has objected to that. They have now said: We don't want any reform of the Senate without the Senate's consent. And they've said: You know, trust us, we'll help you reform us. And that's the situation now. It is a kind of a Catch 22. If everybody wants to reform the Senate but the Senate, it won't be reformed. But, you know, it's not for fault of having tried in '71 and in '78 and in 1980 that we are in that Catch 22 situation. But I don't want to reopen that argument now. Let's get the damn thing home,and then let's have the arguments after.

Q. As a democratically elected representative, you are rightfully attempting to bring home our Constitution. Unfortunately, there are several other democratically elected representatives at a different level of government who are opposing your intentions. Unanimity will not work, but how can this deadlock be broken without offending too many people?

A. I just come back to my first answer. For 53, 54 years, we have tried to solve this problem, we've tried to bring it home without offending anybody,and the result has been 54 years of stalemate, of frustration, of failure. Canadians have failed for 54 years to show that they could act as a nation in the most basic act that any nation can exercise, the act of declaring its total legal independence. We have failed. Six different prime ministers have failed and,as I say,dozens of premiers have failed. So, we're not ever going to do it without offending someone,to answer your question. The question is can we do it at all? And the courts of Manitoba have said yes, you can do it. And 100 years of constitutional practice have said yes, you can do it. The way to do it is to

bring a Joint Resolution of the Parliament of Canada to the United Kingdom, and we, the United Kingdom, will act on it. Now, we know that in the previous occasions when amendment was made by that way, everybody wasn't happy all the time everywhere. When Newfoundland was brought into Canada,as the earlier student would know, Quebec objected vehemently to have Newfoundland as a part of Canada for reasons that had to do with Labrador as you know and other such things. So we offended St-Laurent, offended Quebec. And that's the answer to your question.

Q. Prime Minister, Section 12 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms states that everyone has the right not to be subjected to any cruel or unusual treatment or punishment. Should it find its way into the Constitution,and should the Constitution finds its way to Canada, could the courts use this section or any other section in the Charter to overthrow the application of the marijuana laws presently in the Criminal Code?

A. All I would say is that I wouldn't want to be the lawyer pleading that case.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, it seems that virtually no one is opposed to Ontario being officially bilingual, that is in the Legislature and the courts at least, except for Bill Davis. It seems to me at the hearings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution, if my understanding is correct, nobody who came before that committee was opposed to the idea, and indeed most people supported it. Monsieur Trudeau, tout à l'heure vous avez parlé de notre avenir au Canada au XX^{e} siècle. Moi, je viens de

Montréal. J'aimerais élever mes enfants dans un pays bilingue. Or ma question, c'est en deux parties. First, what effect do you think it's going to have on the attitude of people in Quebec towards their obligations under Section 133 to not impose that section in Ontario,and secondly why can't you,a man of reputed great courage,have the courage of your convictions and stand up to Ontario, stand up to Bill Davis - I think it's just Bill Davis - and bring Ontario under Section 133. I'd like to have your explanation, not your justification.

A. Well, your first question was: What effect will the failure to do that have on the Province of Quebec? And I would say quite unequivocally that it'll probably have a negative effect. Because Quebec has been bound by Section 133 since the beginning of Canada, since 1867, and we know that now that so is Manitoba since it entered into Confederation in 1870, but Ontario is not so bound. And therefore Quebec will say: You know, deux poids, deux mesures. This is not fair.

You asked me second, why don't I have,therefore,the courage to do what is fair, and to at least in those four provinces where I think 90 percent of French-speaking Canadians live - New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba - there will be the same rules for the French as for the English. The answer to that is that in this constitutional exercise, I'm trying to get the maximum amount of results. I would prefer it if Ontario would accept to be bound by 133,as Premier Hatfield on behalf of New Brunswick has said that he would be. I'm not imposing it on Ontario, nor suggesting that we do it for the same reasons that I'm not

imposing on Quebec something that I think Ontarians would think fair, absolute freedom of choice of parents in sending their kids to school. Let me point this out to you. The argument now in Quebec is: No fair. You're not imposing this on Ontario. I think the argument of Ontario to Quebec is: No fair. You're not imposing freedom of choice in Quebec. You're respecting the provisions of Bill 101 that says there are two classes of citizens in Quebec, there is the English-speaking minority which will have freedom of choice, but there's the French-speaking majority which doesn't have freedom of choice. And I've accepted that, and my Quebec Caucus is accepting that, because at this time, at this time that is the most we can do, and I think the people of Ontario, not necessarily in my Caucus, but the people in the Parliamentary Committee, you talk about those who appeared before the committee, there's nobody in the Parliamentary Committee, in spite of the earlier noises made by Mr. Nystrom of the NDP and Mr. Crombie of the Conservatives, nobody has moved that amendment. For reasons which - I'm not an Ontarian, I suppose you know as well as I - it might be that they don't want to create a backlash, it may be that it's being done gradually. I don't want to make the arguments for it. As I say in C-60 I had proposed a formula that would have led Ontario and New Brunswick to be bound by 133, but Quebec didn't support me, I mean the Province of Quebec, the Government of Quebec didn't support me. They attacked it. And in 1971, in Victoria, I had obtained from Ontario, Premier Robarts then presiding, a constitutional formulation which would have brought much of 133 into the Constitution, and Quebec opposed it then. So I have no lesson to take from those Quebeckers now, many of them separatists,

who are saying - but not all, and certainly I don't apply this to the questioner - who are saying: You must fail once again because you haven't gone all the way to 133. You know, I say: We'll fight that fight tomorrow, but today let's win the fight we have now.

Q. Prime Minister, ... that the answer to the question of why such an amendment hasn't been, come forth from the Parliamentary Committee lies in that we have to look at who has appointed those people in the Parliamentary Committee and then I think the answer will become clear. Now coming back to Article 133 and also the clause in... la Charte des Droits de l'homme. C'est réellement un poids deux mesures parce que finalement vous arrivez au Québec puis vous dites: "on a ici un domaine qui est exclusivement de juridiction provinciale, c'est-à-dire l'éducation,et on n'a pas peur d'aller puis de vous enlever des droits." Mais par contre vous arrivez en Ontario, puis vous êtes prêts, vous comme Premier Ministre et ainsi que toute une autre suite de députés qui sont à Ottawa,de vous mettre à genoux devant M. Davis et puis dire: "bon, bien,politiquement,pour vous là, on sait que l'Ontario n'est pas prêt. Vous allez embarquer dans une élection et puis vous êtes un bon gars, puis tout." Maintenant, comment pouvez-vous justifier finalement d'arriver puis d'imposer quelque chose au Québec,d'une mesure,et puis de l'autre mesure,arriver et puis finalement de dire à l'Ontario: "Non, non, ça va." Puis dire aux Franco-Ontariens et aux Acadiens,comme je le suis: "Non, vous,vous êtes des citoyens de deuxième classe."

A. Dans le cas des Acadiens, laissez-moi vous dire que ça ne sera pas le cas puisque le Premier Ministre Hatfield se dit prêt à être lié et c'est d'ailleurs dans nos amendements par l'Article 133 ou les Articles 16 à 20, pour être plus technique du projet actuel. Alors comme Acadien, vous n'avez rien à dire. Vous avez tout ce que vous voulez. Dans le domaine de l'éducation, vous avez la protection des droits des minorités et dans tout le secteur de l'Article 133 et plus, Articles 16 à 20, le Canada sera lié au bilinguisme officiel dans le Québec. So, so much for the Acadians.

You say, I guess in some subtle way that members of the Committee were appointed we know by who. Yeah, they were appointed by Mr. Trudeau, by Mr. Broadbent and by Mr. Clark. And the judgment of all these people is that this is not the time to take Bill Davis on. And the argument I have just... on a question which would probably split the province on linguistic lines. Now that's the judgment of the Ontario Members of my Caucus; that's the judgment of the Ontario Members of the NDP and the Conservative Caucus. Now, you say we're imposing education rights on the provinces, why don't we impose this one on Ontario. I say we're doing in the area of education rights what the provinces themselves - in St. Andrew's in 1977 and in Montreal in 1978 - that they were prepared to do to protect the education rights of their respective minorities. They said that in so many words. Mr. Levesque added that he would protect by reciprocal agreements, which he was never able to negotiate. We are saying we will put it in the Constitution. And those Franco-Ontarians or Franco-Saskatchewanites or

Franco-New Brunswickans now forever or until Canada decides differently, but will have in the Constitution, a guarantee of their school rights. And that,we know historically,has been the big fight in Ontario,and the big fight in Acadie,and the big fight in St. Boniface,and the big fight in Maillardville. We're putting that in the Constitution now. I admit there's another fight, which I hope some other people will win,about convincing Ontario that they should do to their minority, in other areas than education, what Quebec is bound to do by Section 133. My answer is: Yes, we'd like to have that fight. Now I didn't bind Quebec to 133. It was done in 1867. And Quebec then accepted it. So I would like to write a new Constitution all of my own and correct all these things. I'm just saying that I'm doing in the area of education what the Premiers unanimously, and perhaps now they regret it, have agreed should be done. But they never agreed unanimously that Section 133 should apply to Ontario or to any of the other provinces. You know, if you're talking principles, why only impose it to Ontario? Why not impose it in Saskatchewan? And in Alberta, you know. And taking my earlier argument, you say I'm kneeling down in front of Bill Davis. Well, what am I doing, kneeling down also in front of Mr. Levesque because I'm not bringing in freedom of choice of parents in Quebec? You know, I'm a political realist. It's as simple as that. I think I can take Levesque on when it comes to protecting the minority education rights in Quebec. I am not sure I can take Levesque and Ryan and all the others on when it comes to imposing absolute freedom of choice upon Quebeckers. So I'm prepared to bend my principles a bit

and not get what is best in this Constitution,and what would be fair for Quebec. And I'm prepared not to get all I would like in order to be fair to the minorities in Ontario. But you say I'm doing this to get Bill Davis's support. Of course, I am. And I'm accepting the NDP amendment to get Ed Broadbent's support. And I was prepared to put something in the Constitution to get Blakeney's support. And I tried to get Buchanan's support by accepting some joint arrangement in fisheries, and so on. You know that is why it's absurd to say that I'm acting as a dictator. I'm trying to get the maximum support as possible. And as I said quite frankly in the House of Commons, I would be a fool if I accepted an amendment which would reduce the area of consensus we have now rather than increase it. And if I bring in an amendment now, or if my caucus brought it in,or if David Crombie or Nystrom brought it in,and it caused the thing to be ruined, then we wouldn't have protection of Acadian rights that is in our project now, we wouldn't have entrenched the Official Languages Act of Canada which is in the Constitution now, we wouldn't have absolute educational guarantees to the minorities across Canada which we have in our project now. So you can choose.

You know, if we go to London with only the support of Mr. Broadbent and hopefully most of his Members, but we don't have Bill Davis and the Province of Ontario, you know I'd suggest that we have a less chance of getting the British Parliamentarians to do what they should do. It is as simple as that. And if you, as an Acadian, bristling with indignation because we haven't gone all the way, would rather that as a result that we loose the support of Ontario,that we don't have our Canadian Constitution, that we

don't have a charter of rights, that we don't have guarantees for aboriginal rights, that we don't have guarantees for the disabled, that we don't have guarantees of freedom of speech and of conscience and of assembly, and that we don't have an amending formula, because we haven't been able to be absolutely complete in imposing on Ontario something, I say you shouldn't be in politics. That's as simple as that.

You know, when I was a teacher I was writing on 133; it should apply to Ontario as well it applies now to Quebec. But I want to bring the Constitution home. And for that, I need some support.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister. I believe that the proposed amendment to the Constitution it's an amendment for the people of Canada, and this is attested by the fact that there is a Charter of Rights and that there is a provision for referendums.. The provinces don't really like the idea of a referendum. Basically I think it's because they don't want to resort to the collective common sense of the people when it comes to decide hard wishes. They like to keep it on that plane of power play. The Premier of Newfoundland yesterday told us that historically and legally Canada is not a centralist state, that the federal state of Canada is not one with strong centre power. He said that historically and legally, Canada is an assembly of 11 sovereign governments on equal footing. I would like you to rebut the statement and to give us a precise rundown of what your ideas are on that issue? And I would like you to do it in a way that would not compromise your chances for the General Secretariat of the United Nations.

A. Well, the referendum provisions in an amending formula are new. They were not there in our Victoria proposals, and the formula that we all accepted at Victoria in 1971. They were not there in the proposal I made to all the Premiers in 1975, that we bring back the Constitution simply with the Victoria formula. They were not there again in 1976 when I made the proposal again in December. And they were not there in the 1979 campaign when I said, you know, elect us and we'll bring the Constitution home with the Victoria Formula. I'm sorry, in this last case I was beginning to say: And if we can't decide, we can always ask the people. But the basic reason now, why we are introducing the notion of the referendum, is because we have demonstrated in a vividly shocking way in front of camera in September of last year, that the deadlocks which have existed for 54 years can continue for a long while if we don't use the referendum process. You know, I quite frankly came of age last September. And I think Canada might have come of age. When suddenly it saw that one province acting in the interest of... I should say, one provincial government acting in the interest of its people can prevent the totality of the rest of Canada from doing something that the rest of Canada thinks is good for Canada. You know, this is the absolute veto of any one province, of any one provincial government over the national will. And this is consistent with Premier Peckford's view of Canada being an assembly of 11 equal governments and therefore any one of the 11 can prevent the other 10 from progressing by an absolute veto. And this is the theory which underlies the Lougheed formula for amending the Constitution, which says that if the rest of Canada says something is good for Canada, all other 10 provinces and the

Federal Government, but we, the government of Alberta, says it is not, we can opt out of that Constitution. So, you have once again the two views of Canada. And I am quite frankly concerned that in the years to come, there will never be any answer to that unless we can appeal to the people. We have not been able to answer it for the past 54 years when one province said, you shall not bring the Constitution home. We haven't been able to answer it.

There is only one way of answering it. It's once again the one we're using: Go to London and bring it home, even though you will have several provinces objecting. But once it is home, supposing we have the amending formula which says you need six or eight of the provinces representing 80 percent of the population, and that one large province or two smaller ones say: What is good for Canada is not good for us, and it shall not pass. And if this deadlock lasts a period of time, I say let the people decide. Because where is the fount of our sovereignty? Right now, alas, the fount of our sovereignty lies in the United Kingdom. I say: When it comes home, where will the fount of our sovereignty lie? Will it be an assembly of 11 First Ministers, as Mr. Peckford claims, or will it be - and I'm afraid as Mr. Blakeney claims too - or will it be in the people of Canada? And if you're a democrat, it seems to me the answer is clear. It is not the 11 institutional leaders elected at a point of time, it is the people of Canada. And if the people of Canada are not prepared to assume that burden and duty of speaking their will over the heads of their elected premiers and Prime Minister, then I say they are not a nation.

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE A OTTAWA LE 12 FEBRIER 1981

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, FEBRUARY 12, 1981

MICHEL VASTEL, Le Devoir: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre tout le monde connaît votre attachement à la défense des droits de la personne et vous êtes au courant des problèmes qui ont été soulevés par des membres du caucus NPD concernant le personnel de députés.

Sur le plan général, sans faire des questions de personnes, ne pensez-vous pas que c'est une question à laquelle il faudrait voir?

Et la deuxième question -- Monsieur Robinson nous indiquait ce matin que le caucus NPD a volontairement fait une association des membres de son personnel, il a formé un comité des griefs -c'est un peu un régime de convention collective, sans en avoir le nom en tant que tel - et si jamais il n'y a pas de concensus à l'intérieur de la Chambre des communes pour un tel régime, est-ce que vous ne pensez pas que vous pourriez utiliser votre leadership auprès du groupe parlementaire libéral pour qu'au moins le groupe parlementaire libéral utilise des procédures semblables à celles du NPD?

R. Il y a deux questions.

Pour ce qui est de la seconde, je n'ai pas vu la proposition de monsieur Robinson pour une sorte de syndicat sans qu'il y en ait un; alors, j'examinerai cela.

Pour ce qui est de la première question à propos des rumeurs, en autant que je suis concerné, ce ne sont que des rumeurs et, en autant que je suis concerné, ce sont des rumeurs qui ne sont pas justifiées.

Je trouve malheureux que ces rumeurs-là traînent depuis des mois. On les a vu apparaître dans la presse depuis, je pense, le mois d'août, et aucune personne, à ma connaissance, ne s'est jamais plainte d'avoir été sujet aux abus dont parle la presse et auxquels fait allusion monsieur Robinon. Monsieur Robinson lui-même n'a aucune preuve, il n'a aucune information qui donne substance à ces rumeurs.

Je ne dis pas que ça n'existe pas, je dis que personne ne s'en est plaint.

Q. Sur ce rapport, monsieur le Premier ministre, est-ce que vous n'avez pas reçu une lettre et est-ce que vous n'avez pas indiqué à monsieur Robinson qu'on faisait une enquête sur l'un des membres de votre caucus concernant des accusations précises d'un des employés....

R. Non, malheureusement, ce n'est pas vrai et j'espère que vous en prendrez note.

Je n'ai reçu aucune lettre se plaignant de harassement de la nature de celle dont on parle.

Il y a eu une lettre au mois d'août... septembre d'une personne qui posait un problème de fond de retraite. J'ai dit que je ferais enquête là-dessus,

mais il n'y a eu aucune accusation. Cette personne a été interviewée par mon personnel justement sur la question du plan de retraite et elle n'avait aucune accusation à faire, elle n'avait aucun nom à nommer, elle a dit qu'elle-même elle n'avait été victime de rien de tel, et c'est de là que les rumeurs sont parties. Mais je trouve cela extrêmement malheureux et extrêmement grave que monsieur Robinson ou que les media laissent planer qu'il y a des choses inavouables ou inadmissibles quand personne ne s'en est plaint. Monsieur Robinson lui-même ne peut pas dire que quelqu'un s'en est plaint.

Maurice Dionne avait raison de dire qu'est-ce que c'est que cette sorte d'accusation dans le vague, tous les députés peuvent être soupçonnés.

MARC PEPIN: Q. Dernièrement, il y a eu passablement d'histoires au sujet de prétendues ingérences de représentants britanniques dans les affaires canadiennes.

La dernière en cette matière, c'est une drôle de rumeur voulant qu'il y ait eu de l'écoute électronique des conversations de madame Wadds, le haut-commissaire du Canada en Grande-Bretagne, avec le gouvernement à Ottawa, enfin, il n'y a pas de précisions là-dessus.

J'aimerais savoir si vous avez eu confirmation de l'utilisation de telle méthode.

R. Non, je ne suis absolument pas au courant qu'il y ait eu de telles écoutes et de telles méthodes employées.

STUART LANGFORD (CBC-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if I could ask a couple of questions on procedure. The report of the committee, and therefore the Resolution, will be returning to the House for its final stage, and there was some talk today ---

THE PRIME MINISTER: Did you get your contract?

Q. I got it. With your sense of humour, I may sign on/even for nothing. Certainly the CBC is a little blacker in the humour department.

The question I was going to ask you is one -- I am really looking more for information than anything else, as is my wont.

When it returns to the House, there is some talk today that there would be room for amendment, and I found that a little surprising at this stage. There was talk by Mr. Pinard today in the House of Commons that perhaps there could

be amendments. Perhaps I should be looking at Beauchesne.

A. You are talking of the Joint Resolution?

Q. Of the Joint Resolution. That is the first part of the question -- why would that be happening and what sort of amendments might you be contemplating?

The second part of the question is: Might you be contemplating a free vote on the third reading, in the sense I saw Mr. Yurko wearing a similar rose to yours yesterday, I thought... and it struck me that perhaps a free vote might be a nice final touch?

A. No. I believe I answered a question in French two or three weeks ago, and I made it quite clear that our party will not have a free vote on the Joint Resolution.

Insofar as the first question about amendments, we have no desire to move any amendments. I believe what you heard is Mr. Pinard saying that the form in which we are presenting the Resolution, under the rules, does permit amendments.

So, that is the situation. I think the Tories have made it clear that they will move some amendments, and we have taken this introduction of a new Resolution, as it were,

though it will copy in every way the previous one -- I mean the one recommended by the Committee. But we have taken this route so that there could be no accusations or suspicions that we want free and full and frank discussion of every part of the Resolution.

So, there can be amendments. We have none to move. I know of none that are being prepared that would be an improvement to the situation, but we will have to wait and see.

GAYLE MORRIS (CFCF-TV): Prime Minister, last week at the Juno awards you referred to the September talks between the federal government and the provinces as a constitutional Star Wars and the Kershaw committee report as The Empire Striking Back.

Following along that line ---

A. The hyphen was between "constitutional" and "star."

Q. I'm sorry, it is very difficult to hear that here without the earpiece in.

I was just going to ask you, apparently there is going to be another sequel, and it is called "The Revenge of the Jeddi," and it also involves the little people.

Given that six provinces have already decided to take the federal government to court on that -- and we now

have one decision -- do you think that the force will be able to stay with the federal government through all of the decisions, and if not, where would you stand at that point on taking it to the Supreme Court?

A. I'm afraid you have lost me there. I guess your kids must be younger than mine. But they have talked to me of the Star Wars and The Empire Strikes Back; they have talked about Flash Gordon, but I don't know about the little people and the Red Eye. But I will find out and ...

DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV): Mr. Trudeau, since your last appearance here a couple of weeks ago where you mentioned the possibility of an election on the Constitution, there has been more talk within your caucus, as I understand, of that option -- holding an election based on the Constitution.

Have you given any more serious consideration yourself to an election if you find that the constitutional Resolution is blocked in any way in Great Britain?

A. No, I haven't, and I should remind you -- and you probably remember, in fairness -- that I was answering a question and a challenge -- I think it was from Bruce Phillips -- you know, "If you are so smart, why don't you have an election on it?"

Wasn't that right, Bruce?

MR. PHILLIPS: No, sir, that is not what I said.

A. Well, you didn't say/"If I was so smart"because you don't think it, but you said, "If you want to do this, why don't you either have a referendum or an election?"

Wasn't that it?

MR. PHILLIPS: No, sir. I asked you that if you wanted one possible means of resolving the question of public support, a referendum or an election might be one way of doing it. It was a serious question, sir.

A. I didn't say the contrary. It was a very serious question, and I said, "Well, that is something that we might consider."

It is not something I was announcing. I was trying to show what respect I had for Bruce's political advice, and I think I made it clear that I wouldn't be going around waving the threat of an election./ It was that ... I think what I said is that if the Opposition wants an election on which they would campaign that we take the Charter out of the patriated Constitution, I said I would be glad to fight an election on that -- that we should retain the Charter. But, you know, if this is being seriously contemplated, I would hasten to add, as I believe that I

did in the House of Commons, that if there is going to be a leadership convention in the Tory Party, we would not call an election in the middle of a leadership convention. We would observe the proprieties that have been observed in the past and give them, if that is what they want to do, a chance to choose a new leader before we would accept a challenge on the election.

de Montréal:
MICHELE TREMBLAY, Le Journal/ Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, des rumeurs de plus en plus persistantes parlent du poste d'ambassadeur du Canada à Paris. On dit que monsieur Pelletier, qui est en prolongation de mandat, aimerait bien rentrer et on parle aussi d'une volonté du caucus, par exemple, que monsieur Pepin, dont le caucus ou vous-même ne seriez pas satisfaits, pourrait aller à Paris pour régler cette dissension, le mécontentement, je devrais dire, de ses collègues.

Est-ce que ces rumeurs sont plausibles?

R. Je n'ai jamais rien entendu de tel.

On m'a montré une coupure de journal il y a quelques semaines, je pense, ou quelques jours rapportant cette rumeur. Je ne l'ai jamais entendue, pour ma part. Il n'y a eu aucune pression ou aucune discussion même avec moi à l'effet que monsieur Pepin serait ambassadeur là ou ailleurs ou même qu'il quitterait le conseil des ministres. Au contraire. Je trouve que c'est un excellent ministre et j'ai l'intention de le garder aussi longtemps qu'il peut et veut rester.

La rentrée de monsieur Pelletier?

R. Ca, c'est autre chose. Pelletier est là depuis, je pense, bientôt cinq ans, à moins que ce soit un peu plus ou un peu moins, et c'est vrai qu'au bout de ce terme long les Affaires extérieures sont probablement

en train de regarder si on peut l'affecter ailleurs.

Mais je peux vous dire que c'est l'état de la question. Il n'est pas question de le remplacer par quelqu'un de mon ministère.

CLAUDE TURCOTTE: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, j'aimerais vous demander de faire le point sur l'état des relations diplomatiques entre le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne. Il semble y avoir beaucoup d'effervescence à Londres dans les journaux anglais présentement et on y lit diverses nouvelles que madame Thatcher serait nerveuse ainsi que la Reine et qu'il y a des gens qui suggèrent une rencontre entre vous et madame Thatcher.

J'aimerais que vous fassiez le point sur la situation.

R. Oui. Je voudrais rassurer surtout en français puisqu'il s'agit de l'opinion nationaliste québecoise...

J'ai vu que monsieur Lévesque et même monsieur Michel Brunelle, historien, sont inquiets de ce que je sois, paraît-il, en train de créer des tensions vis-à-vis leur mère-patrie.

Je peux vous assurer qu'il n'y a rien d'intentionnel de ma part, mais je suis très soucieux de cette opinion de monsieur Lévesque qui ne voudrait pas qu'il y ait de brouille entre Londres et moi, et je suis à sa disposition pour essayer de calmer ses craintes.

JEFF SIMPSON (GLOBE AND MAIL): Sir, I would like to ask you a question about the fiscal arrangements negotiations that you are going to be undertaking this year with the provinces, which may become extremely difficult.

I want to ask you -- Mr. MacEachen has said in the House of Commons, repeated what is in the budget about the Social Policy envelope growing more slowly than the others and that the government is going to be looking for savings.

I would like to ask you, first of all, whether you expect these negotiations to be extremely difficult; secondly, what particular goals the federal government has in mind during these negotiations, apart from simply saving them; thirdly, in general terms, whether you think these negotiations are part of an effort that the federal government must make to, in effect, reverse what it sees as the excessive decentralization of the country.

A. The reason why Mr. MacEachen talked about that in his budget, and the reason why it is a current subject, is, as you know, because some of these federal-provincial agreements are expiring in the spring of next year, and it is normal that we would want to begin negotiations towards the renewal or the change of them.

Mr. MacEachen has announced the creation of a

task force so that members of all parties could give their views on precisely the kind of question that you ask.

You talk about or worry about excessive decentralization. I'd confess to you that it is a worry -- and I am not pre-judging how that worry will be solved or met, because there are several ways of doing it. But I have seen the figures that the budgetary or expenditure position of the federal government in 1959, which isn't so many years ago, was that we were spending 52 per cent of total government expenditures, and the provinces and municipalities, 48 per cent. Now 20 years later exactly in 1979, the situation had changed dramatically. Now it is one-third in the hands of the federal government; two-thirds, 66.8 per cent, in the hands of the provinces and municipalities.

So, there is no doubt that in fiscal and expenditure terms, there has been a very drastic decentralization in the past 20 years.

And I would say quite frankly, I do not think that can continue. I think it should be arrested. And that is the problem we are addressing ourselves to.

It is a problem Mr. MacEachen has mentioned to his provincial counterparts. We do not have any automatic solution to it. We certainly don't propose to solve this problem on the backs of the poor or of the sick, but we think that the federal and provincial governments together should find

some ways of, shall we say, altering this trend -- which is not marginal but, as I say, very, very vivid, very worrying.

Q. Would you be looking to change the equalization formula, or any other program such as ... So that the wealthy provinces in fact contribute directly to the fund or to any program?

A. Not -- I can't answer that. It is perhaps one of the things that the Department of Finance or that the task force is looking at. But I have no knowledge that they are. When I said there are various solutions, I was thinking in a much more theoretical plane. I mean, I haven't even reflected on the mechanics of it yet.

But the situation is that the federal government has used its spending power in order to encourage the establishment of universal programs in Canada like Medicare, like assistance to post-secondary education, like hospitalization, and so on, like the Canada Assistance Plan.

And we have done that in areas where we could not legislate but where we could only spend money under the Constitution.

And the meaning of the title "Established Programs Financing Act" indicates what our philosophy on this is -- that these programs are established; that they were established with the help of the federal spending power.

But the federal spending power cannot go indefinitely in continuing their increase and their growth, and that is the problem that has to be addressed. It can be addressed either by shifting jurisdiction in those areas to the federal government, which I doubt the provinces would admit or would want, or it can be the shifting of a greater part of the burden to the provinces who have the constitutional responsibility which I doubt that they would like.

There are various alternatives must be addressed. There is a question here again of what kind of a Canada do we want, and it has to be addressed along with the energy policy and the constitutional policy. These are very basic questions about how we are going to enter into the 21st century -- with a weak Government of Canada and very strong provinces, or a strong Government of Canada and weak provinces, or something in between.

But, you know, the problems we are addressing in this decade are exactly of that nature.

BARRY WILSON (The Western Producer): Mr. Prime Minister, I have a question about western freight rates.

One of his first commitments as Transport minister in March of last year of Mr. Pepin was to promise firmly within a year some movement on reform of the Crow's Nest Pass freight rates, and he has since been working to try to get

what he calls a consensus, and the Western Agricultural Conference has agreed to make some move towards negotiation on the issue.

Yet I gather this week members of that group met with you and came away from the meeting feeling that you didn't sense that their consent / was necessary for the government to move, despite their arguments that there was such.

I wonder what your own assessment is. Is it too politically risky now for the government to move on the Crow rate, given Mr. Pepin's view that a change would have to happen very quickly if the government were to have it implemented before the next election -- implemented and accepted?

A. I can tell you exactly the position that I took in front of that group, which is the position of the Government of Canada: It is that if the west wants to re-open the Crow rate and to examine the whole question of the effects of that rate on an efficient transportation policy in the west and on the question of industrializing the west versus just moving raw grains, we are happy to accept the request to re-open it, and Mr. Pepin will have some thoughts on it. But I think it has been established sufficiently clearly in the past decade, when Mr. Lang was Minister of Transport, and even before that, that the Crow rate is a very sacred thing in the west and that somebody in Ottawa would only tamper with it at his peril.

So, I think the onus is on the west to say they want to re-open the discussion on that. And if they do not want to re-open the discussion, I do not think we should, because, as we know, the west is already suspicious of Ottawa tampering in the privileges that the west has through the Crow, and I don't want to encourage those suspicions.

It is true that the people I met thought that the Crow rate could be changed and it would be to the benefit of the west, but until that position has, shall we say, very substantial support in the west, and until it is stated unequivocally by nice people who are prepared to put their leadership on the line, I would not have the folly -- or the courage is the word that you might use -- to say I am going to tamper with the Crow.

You know the political situation. There is one government, that of Saskatchewan, that is poised and ready to hit us with a sledgehammer if we even touch the Crow, and the two other provinces seem to think that maybe something should be done about it.

I would like to see the three western premiers come out with an unequivocal statement -- we mustn't touch the Crow or we must touch it, and we must improve the situation by finding a new deal.

That is the position I am taking. You know,

on some things I am prepared to give leadership, but not on changing the Crow.

Q. The WAC represents a large majority of prairie producers, though, and the fact that they are willing to move, is that not an indication to you that there is a consensus among most producers?

A. No.

PETER TORDAY (Reuters): Mr. Trudeau, somebody asked a question before about the possibility of a meeting with Mrs. Thatcher. Would you consider such a meeting with her?

A. Somebody has mentioned it before?

Q. A gentleman back there raised the point.

A. Oh. I don't think Mrs. Thatcher has suggested such a meeting, and I haven't -- and I think that proves that we are both pretty smart politicians. I think it would be ... Mrs. Thatcher would be welcome at all and every time, but I think it might be unwise for her to come now and appear to be discussing something that she doesn't particularly want to discuss with me at this time. Therefore, I don't want

to lay that kind of a booby trap for her, because I like her too much.

Q. How would you, therefore, meet your concern about the threat to Anglo-Canadian relations?

A. How would what?

Q. How would you meet your concern about the threat to Anglo-Canadian relations?

A. What threat? The threat that we were talking about back there had to do with the worries of Mr. Réné Lévesque about the state of Anglo-Canadian relations. I don't take that very seriously.

Q. There was a motion in the British Parliament yesterday calling for debate on the issue, which I would have thought suggests there is a concern.

A. I don't know. Who moved the motion and what was done with it? Was there ---

Q. It was rejected.

A. So, people don't think the concern is very great. They are probably right.

PETER LLOYD (CTV): Mr. Prime Minister, in view of the inevitable involvement of the British, which both sides seem to think is quite unfortunate, I wonder if you have ever discussed with the British, or in fact whether you would favour, _them amending the Statute of Westminster to deny themselves any further responsibility for the Canadian Constitution?

A. I cannot speak for the British, but I would be very surprised if the government advocated that route.

I didn't discuss it with Mrs. Thatcher -- and this is not said tongue-in-cheek,but I know there was a suggestion in one of the London papers -- I forget which -- that that should be the course. I believe there was also a suggestion in one of the Canadian papers to that effect.

I don't think they understand the British mentality well if they think that they would take that easy way out. I don't think they will.

Q. And you don't favour that yourself, sir ---

A. No, I don't.

Q. -- despite the fact that it would remove this problem?

A. Pardon?

Q. Despite the fact that it would remove the tensions and the responsibility that London has, you would not favour that sort of a role or that sort of a move by the British, and then you would have the whole responsibility for yourself and/Canadian politicians?

A. Well, I think that is the exact mirror of the course that I rejected in a question a few weeks ago when I was asked was I considering UDI.

If we move unilaterally, it would be a legal break -- I would say a revolutionary break with Great Britain. And I think that if they had a UDI, it would be the same. If they acted without a request from the British Parliament, it would be like their saying to the crown colony of Belize, you know, "We cast you off; you are on your own."

That is a Rhodesia in converse, and I don't think that is in their mentality. They have their weak points, but I don't think they slough off their responsibilities in that way.

GILBERT LAVOIE: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous semblez prendre plaisir, récemment, à deux ou trois reprises à parler de la possibilité d'une éventuelle élection sur la question constitutionnelle une fois qu'elle sera de retour au Canada.

Est-ce qu'on doit voir cela simplement comme une blague ou si, dans votre esprit, cela pourrait être une possibilité?

R. Comme je viens de dire en réponse à une question en anglais, c'est en réponse à une question ici même, je dirais même à une suggestion ici même qui a été faite par l'un de vos collègues il y a...

Oui, mais c'est en réponse également à une question de l'Opposition.

Je dis aujourd'hui ce que j'ai dit l'autre jour ici même et aux Communes, entre les deux, que si les Conservateurs qui s'opposent à ce geste de rapatriement avec une charte des droits, s'ils veulent avoir des élections sur la question de savoir est-ce qu'on doit enlever la charte d'une Constitution rapatriée, je suis prêt à considérer cela. Je n'ai pas dit même que je le ferais, j'ai dit, s'ils veulent avoir des élections là-dessus, une fois que la question de leadership aura été décidée au sein de leur parti, mon Dieu, je suis prêt à examiner la question.

Je disais cela en réponse à une suggestion de monsieur Phillips: pourquoi est-ce que vous ne considérez pas cela? J'ai dit, je ne le considère

pas maintenant, je le considérerai peut-être si on m'en parle après.

Alors, il ne faut pas y voir ni une blague ni une menace. C'est une hypothèse, à mon avis, très lointaine parce que je pense fort peu probable qu'aucun parti politique serait prêt à prendre le risque de dire aux Canadiens, vous avez une Constitution canadienne avec une charte des libertés fondamentales, moi, si vous m'élisez, mon parti, nous allons enlever cette charte de la Constitution. Et,comme je l'ai déjà expliqué, ce n'est pas impensable. Ceux qui pensent que nous faisons un tort irréparable au pays en ayant une charte des droits linguistiques et fondamentaux, ils sont parfaitement libres de faire campagne là-dessus soit dans une élection précipitée ou plus probablement dans une élection qui sera tenue dans trois... quatre ans. Mais ce n'est pas une hypothèse purement farfelue.

Si le parti de monsieur Clark veut vraiment changer la nature du Canada et en faire une sorte de communauté des communautés, comme il dit toujours, un pays beaucoup plus décentralisé, il peut faire campagne là-dessus et peut-être sera-t-il élu et, s'il l'est, il n'y a aucun problème d'employer le mode d'amendement de Victoria ou quelqu'autre formule pour enlever la charte ou la corriger ou imposer, s'il le veut, l'article 133 sur l'Ontario ou imposer la liberté de choix aux parents dans le domaine de l'éducation au Québec.

Ce sont toutes des choses qui peuvent s'envisager à l'avenir une fois qu'on aura notre Constitution et une fois que nous aurons établi le principe d'une charte.

- —.

DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV): Mr. Prime Minister ---

A. You again.

Q. The premiers, meeting in Montreal this week said that they would be anxious to troop over to London after the Resolution comes out of the Commons to express their protest there. I am not very sure of the constitutional precedents, but, in your view, is the British Government obligated either to see or not to see the premiers if they go to London?

A. Did you say the premiers agreed that they would troop to London? Is that what you said?

Q. No, they said that there was a strong possibility that after the Resolution comes out of the House, that they might go to London to express their protest.

A. But they didn't even agree that they would?

Q. No.

A. Did they agree on an amending formula, by the way?

I don't think the British would agree to see them -- not the government, at any rate. I mean, some Foreign Office

official would certainly serve them tea. I cannot speak for the British Government. That is an offhand view.

I think it is based on precedent. You know, the British Government didn't receive the Indians -- was it last year or two years ago.

I suppose that is not a good parallel.

BRUCE PHILLIPS (CTV): Prime Minister, have you found anything unacceptable or objectionable in the conduct of Sir John Ford in relationship to the constitutional question? Do you have any complaints?

A. No, personally I don't have any complaints. I know that there was an investigation by the Department of External Affairs, and the results of it have been transmitted, shall we say, by diplomatic channels to the British Foreign Office. But personally I have never had any brush-up with Sir John Ford.

Q. Can you tell us what the results of your investigation were and what conclusions you came to?

A. The results of the investigation were communicated to the British. I haven't seen the results of the investigation in detail. I know the kind of things that were being investigated.

I do know that the department made a very firm decision not to make any recommendations to the British. What they were told to do, and what I think they did do, is just tell the British what they had turned up in terms of Sir John Ford's actions.

LIZ KALBFUSS (Radio-News Carleton): Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to get back to the established programs financing, particularly having to do with funding for secondary/post-secondary schools.

What I would really like to know is whether you will be eliminating the $1.5 billion over three years in cash grants to post-secondary institutions?

And I know you are in the process of negotiation, et cetera, but I would like to know if you are considering going back to the old FAA system.

A. No, I think it is fair to say that we are not considering any particular course of action now. We know that the Established Programs Financing Act has to be renegotiated. I have indicated, in answer to an earlier question, the reasons why it is has to be negotiated -- it is coming to an end and the parameters within which our worries fit.

And at this stage, we are asking a parliamentary task force and the provinces, at the official level, to understand our concern and to prepare the ground for renegotiation.

That is all there is.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, FEBRUARY 26, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESS A OTTAWA LE 26 FEVRIER 1981

IAN URQUHART (Toronto Star): Mr. Prime Minister, did Cabinet today make any decision on how to respond to the Alberta oil cutback? Specifically, did you decide either to impose a special levy on oil to pay for the additional imports we are going to have to acquire, or to make an offer of a higher oil price to Alberta in the hopes that they will cut off the oil cutbacks.

A. On the letter aspect of it, Mr. Lalonde had been prepared to meet with Mr. Leitch. In the past fortnight he renewed the offer in writing, and therefore if there had been any offer possible at that time, I certainly wouldn't be talking about it now, because the Albertans have refused to meet with Mr. Lalonde.

So as to what will happen now, an announcement will presumably be made tomorrow, or Monday at the latest, as to in what way we will deal with the situation. There will be no difficulty in acquiring other sources of oil. The difficulty will be in paying additional amounts in import compensation payments, and you will learn in the House of Commons how we will deal with that.

DOUG SMALL (Global TV): Prime Minister,

I am wondering, on the eve of the Tory convention, if you have any advice to the Tory delegates that will be voting on Joe Clark's future, and whether you in any personal/critical way -- what kind of result you would like to see when the Tories vote on Friday night.

A. Not being able to influence those events in any way, I have resolved to accept with equanimity whatever/the decision the delegates make.

I believe I can say I have some understanding and even sympathy for the situation of a leader who has lost one election and who is somewhat criticized within his own party. You will recall that even happened to me about a year and a half ago.

So, my heart goes out to Mr. Clark, but I just don't know what is better for his own future and that of his party.

MR. SMALL: If you had to fight another election, would you rather fight it against Joe Clark, or some other Tory?

A. To me, all Tories are the same.

STUART LANGFORD, (CBC-TV News): I have a question about another leader. Mr. Reagan is coming to see you soon, and one of the obvious things that he stands for is tax cuts, and/some would say that one of the obvious there are things that your government hasn't stood for are tax benefits, and I wonder whether you might comment on the sort of pressure that might be on you at that time.

How do you feel about the kind of criticism that we are overtaxed; that we don't have the kind of benefit that Mr. Reagan is giving his people?

A. I never know if this kind of question is really asked to help me, because the answer is so obviously helpful.

We have been cutting taxes much more vigorously than even Mr. Reagan contemplates. If you will look at the total of his tax cuts to even those that we are cutting in the current year, some $1.4 billion, I think you will see that it compares very favourably to anything that he proposes to do; but better still, as I was saying in Vancouver -- I believe it was to the Vancouver Sun, and I gave a figure which I have since checked and which is correct -- we have been cutting taxes to the tune of some $14.7 billion between 1972 and 1979, and of course last year we cut, as I say again, a billion and a half -- thereabouts somewhere -- and we are doing so again this year, because essentially on the indexation and of the 5 per cent tax cut that we introduced, I believe in 1974, up to a maximum of $100, I think it was, and the various other tax cuts that have come through the years.

So, that has been -- it is a figure that is easy to remember, because it is quite close to the total amount of our deficit, some $14 billion. That is how much taxes we have cut in those six or seven-year period, and we have continued since.

So, on that ground I can say we've done better than any American administration in the past, or any

current proposition by the American administration -- unless people then say, "You have cut too much." I will say, "But we still have a large deficit, and we are still stimulating the economy in Keynesian terms."

We have helped the consumer and still we haven't shirked our responsibility in the macro-economy by a large federal deficit to create more jobs.

CLAUDE TURCOTTE (Le Devoir) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, ce matin dans cette même salle il y avait la Fédération des francophones hors Québec qui donnait une conférence de presse et qui nous indiquait qu'elle allait, au cours des prochains jours, rencontrer les députés et les sénateurs pour essayer de convaincre les parlementaires de donner un appui plus tangible, plus solide à l'article 133 non seulement dans une ou quelques provinces mais dans toutes les provinces.

Or, j'aimerais vous demander ce que vous pourriez leur dire pour les encourager parce que leur causea l'air un peu, même très difficile et, comme deuxième partie à la question, j'aimerais faire état d'un discours prononçé hier soir par monsieur Crosbie devant les Conservateurs dans lequel il vous accuse d'avoir une vision du Canada qui est vraiment statique et dépassée et qui est celle d'Henri Bourassa au 19ième siècle à l'époque où le Canada c'était le Haut et le Bas Canada, où c'était les Français et les Anglais et que ce n'était pas le Canada de Terre-Neuve-Vancouver, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui, de sorte que la théorie de la dualité que vous proposez ne serait plus valable aujourd'hui comme elle l'était à cette époque-là.

R. Eh bien, il me semble que vous avez raison de joindre les deux questions dans la même parce que est-ce qu'on ne peut pas envoyer ces gens-là dos à dos?

La Fédération des francophones hors Québec nous a accusés, je pense, à peu près sans cesse de ne pas faire assez pour imposer la dualité à l'ensemble du pays, c'est le sens même de votre remarque sur l'article 133, et voici monsieur Crosbie du Parti conservateur qui dans un discours dont on me dit qui a été fort mesuré et pondéré énonce la philosophie exactement contraire: que notre gouvernement est coupable d'imposer, si ce sont ses mots, la dualité linguistique.

Alors, dans un sens, monsieur Crosbie a raison. Nous croyons à la dualité linguistique, à ce que j'appelle le biculturalisme et la multi-ethnicité, mais si monsieur Crosbie a raison, il me semble que la Fédération des francophones hors Québec et les autres minorités francophones du pays devraient regarder un peu à ce que nous avons fait depuis dix ans et à ce que nous proposons d'enchâsser dans la Constitution plutôt que de ne pas nous appuyer et souvent de nous attaquer.

Et je ne dis pas cela d'une façon plaintive. Nous avons fait ce que nous avions à faire mais je me souviens fort bien, je l'ai déjà rappelé, des événements de Victoria en 1971 où nous avions réussi à enchâsser le bilinguisme officiel d'un bout à l'autre du pays, où nous avions fait des progrès significatifs dans le sens de l'article 133 dans sept provinces, dont l'Ontario, et nous n'avons pas eu l'appui ni du nationalisme québécois ni du gouvernement québécois ni, malheureusement, des minorités

francophones du Canada français. Alors, j'espère que cette leçon historique devrait servir à ceux qui nous disent maintenant que la charte n'est pas assez, qu'elle ne fait rien du tout. Elle fait énormément; simplement, il y aura encore des étapes à franchir dans les années à venir.

FRANCINE BASTIEN (Radio-Canada): Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, monsieur Blakeney de la Saskatchewan a indiqué cette semaine qu'il était disposé à tenter de trouver une nouvelle formule de compromis constitutionnel.

A la lumière de cela, je me demande si, je vous pose la question, si un premier ministre provincial prenait l'initiative de convoquer maintenant les onze premiers ministres canadiens, seriez-vous prêt à participer à un tel exercice dans le but, par exemple, (inaudible)un consensus minimum sur une formule d'amendement et, en deuxième lieu, pendant que ce processus serait en cours, seriez-vous prêt à mettre en veilleuse votre projet actuel de résolution, question de manifester la volonté de votre gouvernement d'en venir à un ultime consensus fédéral-provincial avant d'aller à Westminster.

R. Eh bien, non. La population canadienne a été victime trop souvent de cette sorte de manoeuvre purement dilatoire.

Je me souviens qu'on l'a exercée en '75 alors que j'ai demandé qu'on rapatrie tout simplement la Constitution avec une formule d'amendement, et j'avais même à un moment donné proposé sans formule d'amendement mais l'unanimité, enfin, vous connaissez la

formule, et les provinces ont dit, eh bien, nous ne sommes pas tout à fait prêts, mais nous allons nous réunir au mois d'août prochain pour vous donner une réponse et au mois d'août prochain, ils se sont réunis et n'ont pas trouvé de réponse. Ils ont attendu une autre année. Ils ont traîné comme ça d'année en année sans jamais apporter d'accord au simple rapatriement avec une formule d'amendement, et je leur dis maintenant, eh bien, soit, vous vous êtes réunis à Montréal à six, si vous voulez écouter le conseil que vous leur donnez, réunissez-vous à dix, si vous voulez, essayez de trouver un accord entre vous, on s'en reparlera, mais pour le moment je n'ai aucune raison d'espérer qu'ils s'entendront à dix puisqu'ils ne se sont même pas entendus à six.

C'est cela, en fait, qui est arrivé à Montréal au début de février. Les six provinces qui portent notre projet devant les tribunaux se sont réunies en disant précisément ce que vous souhaitez là, je pense que c'étaient les paroles mêmes de monsieur Bennett que j'ai citées dans l'Ouest, il disait, bon, je pense qu'on a fait assez de travail, nous pourrons trouver une formule d'amendement sur laquelle nous serons tous d'accord et à laquelle le gouvernement fédéral donnera probablement son accord. Et il est sorti bredouille! Pourtant, je n'étais pas là, il n'y avait pas de méchants fédéralistes de présents.

Ce sont les six premiers ministres provinciaux qui sont le plus unis contre nous qui

ont réussi à prouver une fois de plus que l'unanimité à onze n'est pas possible et qu'elle n'est même pas possible à six. Alors, pourquoi est-ce que vous me faites une proposition aussi irréaliste? Allez plutôt demander la question aux premiers ministres provinciaux.

Q. Question supplémentaire, monsieur le Premier ministre.

Quand la cause du Manitoba sera devant la Cour Suprême du Canada, est-ce que vous vous engagez à stopper temporairement la procédure en cours ou si le processus politique engagé par votre résolution se poursuivra comme si de rien n'était?

R. Plutôt la deuxième branche de l'alternative.

Q. Pardon?

R. Oui, nous continuons nos procédures, nous continuons de discuter de la résolution et de souhaiter...

Q. Même si c'est en délibéré devant la Cour Suprême du Canada?

R. Eh bien, je ne sais pas si vous avez réfléchi un peu aux délais qui sont envisagés mais je ne sais pas quand ce sera devant la Cour Suprême du Canada ni quand ce sera plaidé. Nous avons gagné au Manitoba. Alors, qui va porter ça et quand? Je pense que les provinces, comme je l'ai déjà dit, ont surtout intérêt à emprunter des

mesures dilatoires et je ne peux certainement pas m'engager, et je ne le ferai pas, à attendre que les provinces se décident à plaider cette cause devant la Cour Suprême, si toutefois c'est leur désir.

MICHELE TREMBLAY (Le Journal de Montréal):

Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, un sondage publié au Québec ce matin démontre que 52,3 pour cent de la population francophone du Québec appuie d'abord les provinces dans le dossier constitutionnel et, d'autre part, que les mêmes Québécois francophones demandent, dans une proportion de 50,5 pour cent à leurs députés de voter contre la résolution lorsqu'elle arrivera à la Chambre des communes alors que 37,2 pour cent demande d'appuyer le projet de résolution.

J'aimerais avoir vos commentaires.

R. Eh bien, je sais seulement que les Québécois connaissent mes vues constitutionnelles, ils les connaissent depuis au moins douze ans, et qu'ils ont sans interruption envoyé à la Chambre des communes pour appuyer le gouvernement que je dirige des députés en énorme majorité. Comme vous le savez, nous avons 74 des 75 sièges à la Chambre des communes en provenance du Québec et les députés ont examiné cette question et ils ont décidé que c'était dans l'intérêt des Canadiens et de leurs commettants d'adopter la résolution qui est devant la Chambre, et c'est la voie que nous sommes en train de suivre.

JOHN FERGUSON, (Canadian Press): Prime Minister, in your speech in Vancouver last week you defended your government's energy policies.You said that Mr. Clark -- and I will quote from your speech. You said:

> "-- he doesn't mention that his 85% policy would have meant higher prices than those projected in the National Energy Program."

And you went on to say that higher prices for crude oil would have meant $12 a barrel more in 1983 and higher prices at the gas pumps -- 60 cents a gallon more in 1983.

Then you went on to say that westerners are complaining that they are not getting enough money for their oil and gas, and you said:

> "Well what was that figure mentioned in the Crosbie budget? It was 40 billion dollars by the end of 1983. 40 billion dollars to the producing provinces of the West. Well under our plan, that is exactly the amount that we intend seeing being paid to the West."

Could you explain how both of those statements could be true at the same time?

A. Yes, because the figure mentioned in the Crosbie budget, the $40 billion, was based on the OPEC prices as then known and assumed, and as a result of those assumptions, the figure of $40 billion is what Mr. Crosbie, in his budget, said he was giving to the west.

And because it was said, with hindsight,

that at least Mr. Clark's budget would have been acceptable to the west, we have taken that figure as a guidepost, and we have matched that figure. But in reality what happened, and what I think few people understood during the election campaign, although we attempted to explain it to them, in reality the assumptions made in the Crosbie Budget were not borne out by the OPEC decisions. In other words, prices went up much faster than Mr. Crosbie had assumed, or that he said he wanted to believe -- and we were saying that.

You know, this 85 formula by the end of 1983 that is in the Budget, that is the twister; that is the catch. You think it is only $40 billion; you think it is only going to be -- whatever it was, $4.50 a year, and so on, and I think Mr. Crosbie had projections of $6.50 a year by 1983-84, but these are on the assumption that the OPEC prices don't go up very fast.

Do you follow me? And what has happened ---

MR. FERGUSON: I follow you, sir ---

A. And what has happened -- all right, if you follow me, then maybe I will ---

MR. FERGUSON: I follow you to that point, but if that is the case, how can you say -- what you said you were saying is that in fact under the 85% formula prices would have gone higher.

A. That's right.

Q. So then, how can you say that the West is getting as much as they would have under the

Crosbie Budget? They obviously would have received more than ---

A. Read again what I said on the $40 billion -- the exact words.

MR. FERGUSON: "Well what was that figure mentioned in the Crosbie Budget?"

A. "mentioned in the Crosbie Budget" -- $40 billion.

MR. FERGUSON: "It was 40 billion dollars by the end of 1983. 40 billion dollars from the producing provinces of the West. While under our plan ---"

A. That't all. Don't read it all. The $40 billion mentioned in the Crosbie Budget, and that is what I say -- "the figure that he said you were going to get, we are going to give to you." But I am telling you, as I tried to tell people during the election campaign, the figure he's got in there is smaller than the real figure. We are giving you what he said he was giving you; but, in reality, with OPEC gone wild and the 85% Clark rule, you would have got much more. I am not denying that. You would have got much more.

MR. FERGUSON: So, you admit, then, that the two statements are contradictory, because you are saying now that they would have gotten much more.

A. I am saying that Mr. Clark was perhaps -- or Mr. Crosbie -- was perhaps less than candid, or maybe ignorant, when he said that $40 billion was what his formula

would tranfer to the West. Because $40 billion was based on an assumption that, to go to the 85%, prices wouldn't rise very much. But we were saying, you know: "Beware of that. He is promising you $40 billion, and he is telling us this is the figure mentioned in the budget."

That is why every time I made this speech, whether in Brandon or in the West, or in a press conference, I have always been very careful not to say that under the Crosbie budget the West would have got $40 billion, but to say that under the Crosbie budget they said that the West would get $40 billion.

You know, I don't ---

MR. FERGUSON: In fact they would have received more.

A. In fact they would have received much more, and we ---

MR. FERGUSON: So, the West is receiving less under your budget.

A. They are receiving less than they would have if the 85% rule would apply, but not less than Crosbie said they would receive.

I think it is pretty important that you understand this, if you think that there is a contradiction. The contradiction is in their approach, not in what we are saying.

And during the campaign -- you know, you can

go back -- we tried to get this point across, and it was relevant to our promise to have lesser prices than the Tories. When we say we will increase it by $4 in 1980, $4.50 in 1981, $4.50 in '82, and so on, and we said that would be marginally under what the Tories have promised -- they had promised a total of $17.50, and we promised a total of under those figures
I think, close to $17 /and we heard a lot of guffaws from some of you people saying, "Yeah, you know, they are doing 50 cents better," and we tried to say, "Yes, we are doing 50 cents better -- 50 cents better if you accept the Crosbie figure of $40 billion. But in reality we are warning you that it is going to be much more than $17.50, because the $17.50 is based on false assumptions. So, the total Crosbie increase of petroleum prices would have been considerably more than $17.50, and therefore we could have still promised to increase prices by, I suppose, something like $20 and done better than the Conservatives.

It has taken, I suppose, months for this question to come out, but I would like you to understand very clearly what I am saying and to check Crosbie's words, and my words, too. Because there is a contradiction if you don't take the $40 billion which I always referred to. That is the figure he promised. But he was not telling consumers the whole truth at that point, because he probably knew -- and we certainly knew -- that it would be costing considerably more to the consumer and therefore giving considerably more to the West. And there is our case. I mean, $40 billion seemed like a lot, and it still does; but, in reality, under the Crosbie

Budget, the West would have got considerably more. We figured at the time something like $51 billion.

TERRY WILLS,(Montreal Gazette): A question on the Constitution. I don't know whether there is much purpose in it after your answer to Francine, but I will press ahead.

It is based on the hypothesis that the premiers who are opposing your plan are able to reach a compromise among themselves,and that compromise, specifically on the Amending Formula, would be the Vancouver Formula with an "opting out" whereby the opting out would exclude the Charter of Rights. In other words, the Charter of Rights would still be binding on the provinces.

Would there be an area of compromise between you and the premiers on that?

A. Look, I have been negotiating with the premiers since 1968, and I think we have examined every possible compromise. As I have repeated, we tried simple patriation; we've tried simple patriation with the Victoria Formula, and we've tried everything else in between. As I said once before, I was even prepared to accept the atrocious Vancouver Formula -- because it creates a checkerboard Canada -- I was even prepared to accept it as a price to pay for the people's package, and I said that to the premiers assembled at dinner at my place,and then I said it publicly.

You know, as a part of a price for a package and constitutional peace, we would have paid a devil of a lot, and it was obvious from the February 1979 conference, where

I was prepared to give indirect taxation and interprovincial trade and international trade, and a limit to the spending power, and even consider a limit to the Declaratory Power -- you know, to quote I think what one of you said about me at the time, I was prepared to "give up the shop in order to buy constitutional peace."

But I am not longer prepared to do that. I have realized, as I think Mr. Clark realized when he was in government, that there is no price you can pay that will satisfy the provinces. And that is why I am not going to negotiate with you. I say to you what I told to Francine: they have proved my case. Six of them have gotten together in Montreal -- the six who were most hostile to us. They knew they could have made things very difficult for us in public opinion if they had said, "Well, here is the simple solution" -- Mr. Clark's party knows the same thing -- "Here is the simple solution. There is agreement among ten provinces (or even, say, eight) on a simple amending formula," on whatever it is -- on the Charter, and so on. But they are not able to manage it. They are not able to put a consensus together.

MR. WILLS: May I have a supplmentary?

They are still attempting to find a compromise, Prime Minister. Are you saying that if they do, that you still won't talk to them?

A. I am saying time is running out, because we are discussing action now. I won't answer an hypothetical

question. I don't think they will reach a consensus. They haven't been able to in 54 years.

So, don't ask me to wait for them to reach a consensus. Show me they have reached one and then you ask me the question.

JEFFREY SIMPSON, (Globe and Mail): Prime Minister, back to the Reagan visit. In his Address to Congress several weeks ago, he announced a 26% cut in the foreign aid budget of the United States. You have made the North-South question a matter of priority to you. First of all, will you be raising this question with President Reagan when he is here? What is your reaction, given your interest in the subject, to this American proposal?

A. I certainly intend to discuss many bilateral questions with President Reagan, if they find a way into the agenda. I should preface it by saying that we haven't decided finally on the agenda yet, but it seems inevitable that we will be discussing international problems, and that one of the more important ones, as far as I am concerned, is the North-South problem. Therefore, we will be discussing this matter.

MR. SIMPSON: What is your reaction, as someone who has made North-South issues important and who is leading a government whose foreign aid budget for next year is going up in real terms, to this American decision to slash their budget

or the proposal, by a quarter of a billion dollars.

A. Well, I guess to make an understatement, my reaction is one of disappointment. But, as we know, the President proposes and Congress disposes. We will see what happens. I can quote the Portuguese again:

" le pire n'est pas toujours sûr."

But I think it would be regretable if this decision is carried out, but I don't pretend to run the American administration. I have enough trouble running my own. I will express my views, but I don't think I have a right to impose any decision on them. I will have to respect whatever they decide. But I will certainly argue firmly that, to me, it would be a mistake in terms of international politics if we didn't give more attention rather than less to the solution of the North-South problem.

DOUG FISHER: Mr. Trudeau, my question just needs a one-word answer. Do you expect, before you leave the prime ministership, to introduce a measure that would be less Draconian and more subtle than the War Measures Act?

A. I'd need two words to answer that, but I don't think it would be polite to use them.

BOB DOUGLAS, (Canadian Press): May I ask another question on the Reagan visit?

Do you plan to discuss the U.S.-Canada Autc pact and if so, what kind of message will you try to get across to the President? And do you feel there is much chance at this time of getting a change in the auto pact while the

North American auto market is in a state of depression?

A. I can't be optimistic that there will be a chance of getting a drastic change now. What I think can take place is acquaintance by each side of the facts as seen by the other.

I think United States Congressmen, and perhaps the administration, have not always realized the great extent to which the auto pact has worked in their favour, and certainly an effort will be made, as has been made, to indicate that, if it is to be fair and acceptable to both sides, it should be more balanced in its results.

But this being said, I would be cautious to promise any reopening or renegotiation of the auto pact particularly at this time for the reasons you have said -- that the market for North American cars is not buoyant now, to use an understatement, and I do not think we should make things worse in attempting to make them better.

MARC PEPIN (Nouvelles Télé-Radio) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous savez qu'à Montréal aujourd'hui les provinces qui sont opposées à votre projet de rapatriement sont à nouveau réunies; seulement, depuis la dernière fois, leur nombre est passé de six à huit, la Nouvelle-Ecosse y est aujourd'hui et la Saskatchewan également.

Je me demande si c'est pour cette raison stratégique que vous avez décidé de dépêcher à Londres monsieur Chrétien plutôt que monsieur MacGuigan pour parler de la Constitution, étant donné que le front commun des provinces semble s'élargir.

R. Je ne vois pas pourquoi vous dites cela. Nous avons toujours parlé des six provinces qui nous opposent devant les tribunaux et de deux qui nous appuient. Les deux autres étaient plus ou moins sur la clôture, je pense qu'elles y restent. Elles nous condamnent tout en ne nous condamnant pas et en proposant peut-être que si on essayait encore, il y aurait des formules de compromis.

Mais peu importe les chiffres et la statistique. Le geste de remplacer, comme vous dites, monsieur MacGuigan par monsieur Chrétien n'est même pas définitif en lui-même.

Voici ce qui est arrivé. C'est que nous pensions, il y a fort longtemps, lorsque MacGuigan avait accepté cette invitation, nous pensions que la résolution serait depuis longtemps sortie de la Chambre des

communes et du Sénat et que le Parlement britannique en serait saisi. A mesure que les jours et les semaines passent, nous nous apercevons qu'il n'y a rien de moins sûr et, alors, je pense que ça aurait été injuste que monsieur MacGuigan soit le premier à aller en Grande-Bretagne parler de la Constitution canadienne quand c'est monsieur Chrétien qui était le ministre responsable, d'où la substitution dont vous parlez.

Je ne sais pas ce qui va arriver. S'il arrive que la résolution est encore devant les Chambres à ce moment-là, peut-être que monsieur Chrétien non plus n'y ira pas.

Alors, je vous donne la raison pourquoi il y a eu une substitution mais je ne suis même pas sûr, parce que je ne peux pas prédire quand le débat va finir, je ne suis même pas sûr s'il sera opportun pour monsieur Chrétien d'y aller. Supposons qu'à ce moment-là nous ayons besoin de lui à la Chambre des communes parce que, hypothétiquement, la résolution ne serait pas sortie, alors il faudra raviser notre échéancier ou notre calendrier de voyages.

Q. Si vous me le permettez, vous nous dites qu'il n'y a rien de stratégique derrière cela, qu'il n'y a pas de lobbying de la part du gouvernement à faire à Londres en ce moment.

R. Je n'ai pas dit cela, je n'ai pas dit le contraire. J'ai dit que dans la première optique d'une résolution sortie depuis fort longtemps du

Parlement canadien, il aurait été normal que quelques semaines plus tard monsieur MacGuigan ait parlé à Londres de la Constitution ou d'autres choses, mais que cette optique-là est maintenant changée. Il n'est pas tellement probable que la Constitution soit depuis longtemps rendue en Angleterre à ce moment-là.

Alors, je ne veux pas que le premier ministre qui y irait soit monsieur MacGuigan. Si effectivement monsieur Chrétien arrive le jour même avec la Constitution dans ses bagages, ou avec la résolution dans ses bagages, il vaut mieux que ce soit lui qui soit le premier à prendre la parole là-bas mais, je le répète, je ne suis même pas sûr de ce calendrier.

BRUCE PHILLIPS, (CTV News): Yes sir. Do you have any comment that you would care to offer on President Brezhnev's proposal for a summit conference, and specifically do you think President Reagan should accept such an invitation?

Secondly, have you any comment on the American Government's characterization of the difficulties in El Salvador as being inspired by the Soviet Union and Cuba ?

A. I thought that exchange showed a great deal of prudence, and perhaps caution and maturity, on both sides. I don't believe Mr. Brezhnev proposed a summit in so many words. I think he suggested that we should be looking at the possibility of a summit. And I think Mr. Reagan didn't answer in so many words "Yes" or "No"; he said, "Well, we would only look at the possibility of a summit if we can be assured that the expansionary actions of the Soviet Union" -- and I don't believe he even named the Soviet Union. He said, "There are arms being supplied by hostile forces -- hostile to the United States -- in the Salvadorian situation, and therefore this kind of thing would have to be considered before we would accept a summit."

So, quite frankly, I think both sides did the right thing, because apparently both seem to believe -- certainly, and if they do, I would agree -- that an effort to renew some dialogue between the two great powers is beneficial to all of us. If Mr. Brezhnev is saying that, and if Mr. Reagan is answering positively, but both of them being very cautious, I am happy for all of us.

I think since Afghanistan we have been

asking ourselves the same question -- "Now what?" I mean, do we want to go back to the cold war, or do we want to fall back into a trap of detente which might be used by the other side to expand its influence? That is the question we are juggling with, and that the two super powers now seem to lean towards a cautious renewal of the dialogue, and I think that is a good thing.

DENNIS BAXTER, (CBC Radio): Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to pose a couple of other questions on the Reagan visit that is upcoming. You dealt with a couple of issues that I wanted to ask you about, but certainly when leaders meet hopes are raised that some of the problems that exist between Canada and the United States might be solved.

You have suggested, in regards to the auto pact, that it may be a long time before there is a resolution of that, but at this meeting, nevertheless, do you hope that there will be any kind of significant progress -- perhaps even a breakthrough -- that might solve one or two of the long list of problems that exist between Canada and the United States?

A. I don't know. I am hoping the Americans will want to surprise us and say, "Look, we are really your friends and you are our friends, and here are a couple of problems we can solve now and let's do it."

It is a new administration. They may want to take that attitude, or they may not. But I think both

Canadian and American people realize that they are each other's best friends, and they want that to continue, and because of the insistence that the Reagan team has put on being friendly to your friends before worrying about your enemies, I think it is in line with their policies and their politics to make a genuine effort to solve some of our outstanding differences.

That doesn't mean that they are not going to be hard bargainers, but at least geographically they won't be Yankee traders. They will try and get the best possible deal for their people, but I think that they will make a genuine effort to understand the Canadian point of view.

That is a pretty broad generality, but to me it leads me to go into these meetings with a great deal of hope.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT RONALD WILSON REAGAN AND MRS. REAGAN, MARCH 11, 1981

DECLARATION DU PREMIER MINISTRE A LA PRESSE A LA FIN DE LA VISITE DU PRESIDENT RONALD WILSON REAGAN ET DE MME REAGAN, LE 11 MARS 1981

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Ladies and gentlemen of the press, the point has been made many times that we are happy to have received President Reagan and his ministers and officials.

We want to report briefly this morning on the conversations and discussions which took place between us. I would merely preface them by saying that at the beginning of a new administration, we were surprised and delighted that so much ground could be covered in such a positive way.

There is no subject and no grievance, if I could use the word, which the United States was not prepared to discuss and indicate a will to settle.

We discussed yesterday morning mainly the area of international affairs, and we had a very wide-ranging 'tour d'horizon'. Nous avons parlé de l'Afghanistan, de la Pologne, du Proche-Orient. We talked a fair amount of the Caribbean and Central America, and on El Salvador in particular there was agreement, as I could sense it, that the solution there should be a political solution and that we would work in whatever way we could to ensure that the moderates were those who took over and not the extremists of the right or of the left.

We, as you know, reached an agreement on NORAD which will be signed incessantly .We have reached an agreement on social security also; much of the work in these two areas had been done before we even sat down to talk because you realize, as we do, that every day of the week there are contacts between officials of both governments on a multitude of subjects, and what we concentrated on in our brief meetings

was mainly in the area of disagreement or a need to clarify our respective positions. And I would say that on the two main areas of bilateral concern, we were very pleased with the ultimate response of the President of the United States.

It began, of course, with an expression of our deep disappointment at the fact that the fisheries treaty had been withdrawn from the United States from ratification because from the outset we had argued, when these discussions began several years ago, that linkage between the boundaries settlement on the fisheries was not only necessary but it was obvious from the very nature of the two agreements. And we are disappointed at the delinkage, and that has been expressed very clearly to the United States. as I said in the House of Commons a few days ago, I think it is fair to put the best possible light on this and that is certainly in keeping with the attitude that the discussions assumed.

The fisheries treaty was bogged down for a couple of years in the Senate and we view the United States gesture withdrawing that treaty as an indication of the determination to solve the problem in other ways because we made it quite clear that the two problems have to be solved, - it is not just a matter of having the Courts determine the boundaries, it is a matter of making sure though that there will be no fish war, we gave each other the assurance of that, and we will take measures to make sure it does not happen.

No one would benefit if the fish ultimately were fished out by the extraordinary capacities of the Canadian fishermen to go ahead and fish if they see that there are no limits and that the Americans are not respecting them. So, in this sense, we are very

happy that the United States administration has undertaken to assure fish conservation measures in that area and we are hopeful that the problem will be settled in that way. Indeed, we are more than hopeful, we are confident that it will.

The other area, of course, of great concern to Canada was cross-boundary pollution either through acid rain, Great Lakes water pollution or the particular case of the Garrison diversion, and on all these matters, I think it is fair to say that the United States, as the President had occasion to repeat in the House of Commons a few moments ago, we have the assurances that the United States has the will and the determination to cooperate with us in preserving the environment for ourselves and for posterity.

We talked about the pipeline, the Northern Gas Pipeline, and you have heard the President of the United States give us the assurance that they were determined to see it to its successful completion and, therefore, to carry on the undertakings we had had from the previous administration.

We talked about many other bilateral subjects in the area of trade. We said that the Auto Pact discussions should be pursued and continued. In the area of mass transit transportation, the United States has agreed to consider ways in which agreement and the buy-America provisions can be made to operate in a fair way to Canada.

We discussed other economic subjects, but I think it is important, in conclusion, to remind you that the impression that I got from our discussions with the American President and ministers was that we were doing this in the best possible of spirits and attitudes. We did not approach this as a zero sum game. We think

that there can be beneficiaries on both sides in all these areas whether it be from the environment or trade, we do not see these negotiations as terminating in a victory for one and some losses for the other. On the contrary. The spirit and reality of these discussions and, I am convinced, of the future of our relations with President Reagan and his administration will be that both sides can come out the gainers if we solve problems of the environment, problems of boundaries or of fisheries, problems of trade, problems of social security, and that both sides have it to their advantage to look at international problems in that same light too because we share the main objectives of liberty and justice.

I expressed, for my part, that there might be some future meetings between the President of the United States, the President of Mexico and the Prime minister of Canada. If we could have such meetings to try and share common views of people who inhabit in a world, particularly as we regard international developments. We will be meeting again, the President and I and the other summitteers in July, and I think that we have shown, at least by our meeting in this past day and a half, that we intend to continue our consultations. I did make the point, and I think the President agreed, that our reaction to tensions in Poland, as different from our reaction to events in Afghanistan / more than a year ago, showed that we had learned from the lesson of Afghanistan and that we understood that one of the most important things we could achieve, as like-minded countries, was to consult in order that we not react in disarray to crisis or possible tensions in other parts of the world but that we act, in fact, as we are in spirit, with unison and with dedication to the spirit of freedom.

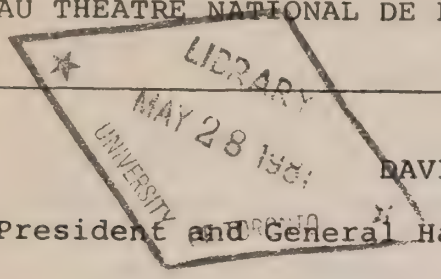
That is about all I think that I have to say, Mr. President, and it is up to you now to try and satisfy those who were not satisfied by me!

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Government
Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, MARCH 12, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE, A OTTAWA, LE 12 MARS 1981



DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV): Prime Minister, the President and General Haig seemed to be telling us yesterday that the U.S. will only back the Alaska Pipeline if it is entirely privately financed. Since U.S. industry seems to be turning rather luke warm about the cost and viability of the project, I am wondering if you are worried that the prospects for the pipeline are receding and that the American Government commitment is weakening.

A. I certainly wouldn't agree that it is weakening. This is the position the Americans have taken with us from the beginning -- that this pipeline should be privately financed. It has certainly been our position as regards Canada, and I understand that it was, and remains, their position as the United States.

Because, I guess we all know a bit about private enterprise. If they think they can get some money from the government, they are not going to put it up themselves. So, I think it is beneficial in the short and medium term that the United States have repeated their position from the beginning that it was to be privately financed, because any hint to the contrary or any hope to the contrary would only have the result of delaying all of this because then the private sector would be waiting for some public help, which is not certainly to our advantage that the thing be delayed.

MR. HALTON: A supplementary, sir. Did the Carter letter of last year not talk about the possibility of U.S. Government intervention to make that commitment -- a commitment that doesn't seem to have been apparent yesterday?

A. The only action by the U.S. Government that I can recall was to perhaps suggest to Congress that they facilitate an amendment -- I believe it is to the anti trust law -- to permit the producers to also finance the transmission, and to my understanding, this administration would take the same -- I am not of course speaking for them, but when General Haig said that they would facilitate in any way they could, by government action, the private financing, I understand him to mean the same thing as the Carter administration.

ROBERT DOUGLAS (Canadian Press): Prime Minister, last year, when you were meeting with President Lopez Portillo, you came out with an agreement that having a trilateral meeting with the Mexican and American leaders was not in the best interests of either of your countries, and this week, yesterday, you were saying that you proposed such an idea in discussions with President Reagan.

What has changed your mind?

A. I haven't changed my mind. I think there is perhaps a misunderstanding on what I proposed and what some people think that President Reagan was saying during his campaign. He was talking about what is known in Canada as continentalism, and we saw that as perhaps a dangerous policy as regards the management of our resources, and probably the Mexicans the same thing. And certainly when I met President Portillo last spring,

it was in this context that, to the then merely candidate Reagan, we made it clear that he shouldn't think in those terms.

But insofar as meetings between the three leaders, it is something which I believe is good and which I was very happy to promote yesterday -- not for the first time. Or maybe the day before yesterday. But, I mean, it is something that I have been saying for quite a while now. The European heads of government meet periodically, sometimes just to shoot the breeze, because they feel it important that they know each other in terms of, you know, why do you say that and where did you get this, and what are your reactions to the next? And that on this continent the American President, the Mexican President and the Canadian Prime Minister, whoever he is, get together (a) to know each other better and perhaps de-escalate some of the suspicions and hostilities in every direction, and (b) to see if we can develop some common philosophy as regards at least areas close to us, like the Caribbean, Central America, South America, I think it is all to the good.

ROBERT DOUGLAS: As a supplementary, would you rule out any discussion of resources and energy in such a trilateral meeting?

A. If I didn't, I am sure the Mexicans would. But I think we made clear -- last May, was it? -- when the Mexican President and I issued that statement that we wouldn't be meeting for that purpose. We not only wouldn't be meeting, but we didn't want the Americans to think that this could be approached in that way. But the other, once again, is so obvious from the

various summits and meetings and I say, the Europeans exemplify that by their frequent meetings. We do that in the Commonwealth. And for Heaven's sakes,if some 35 to 40 nations from remote parts of the Pacific and Africa and elsewhere find it important to get together from time to time, I think it is high time that the three political leaders of the three countries of this North American continent consider doing the same thing. So, I think that is a superb idea, particularly because it's mine.

MICHEL GALAN, Agence France Presse: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, les officiels canadiens insistent sur l'excellent rapport que vous avez développé avec le Président Reagan mais, d'autre part, alors que, par exemple, vous improvisiez votre compte-rendu des rencontres hier, le Président lisait tardivement un compte-rendu qui avait sans doute été préparé par son équipe.

Expliquez-moi l'utilité d'un excellent rapport personnel avec quelqu'un qui ne semble être que la façade d'une équipe avec laquelle vous n'entretenez pas le même rapport.

R. Avec une équipe avec laquelle vous n'entretenez pas le même rapport personnel.

R. Mon Dieu! il se peut bien que si vous me regardiez, à l'issue d'une rencontre il y a dix... douze ans, quand j'étais nouveau Premier ministre, peut-être que je lisais les documents préparés par mes fonctionnaires. L'important c'est qu'ils portent mon sceau et mon seing et qu'ils correspondent à mes idées. Je présume que c'était le cas pour le Président Reagan.

On a vu l'exemple dont on parlait tout à l'heure, d'un document émanant d'un

fonctionnaire, la semaine dernière, sur la question énergétique qui a été désavouée par le ministre Haig, c'est dire que les fonctionnaires ne dictent pas la politique à l'administration, mais heureusement que c'est le contraire.

Alors, je vois un peu cette attitude du Président dans ce contexte-là. Il savait, bien sûr, quels étaient les dossiers contentieux, ses fonctionnaires l'en avaient informé et lui avaient suggéré les réponses avec lesquelles il semblait d'accord. Alors, qu'il les lise ou qu'il les mémorise, comme c'était mon cas, ça prouve que j'ai peut-être une meilleure mémoire que lui!

GILBERT LAVOIE, La Presse: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous avez passé les cinq dernières années à combattre ou, du moins, à faire face à un gouvernement, dans votre province d'origine, avec lequel vous ne vous êtes pas toujours bien entendu. Alors, vous allez être appelé aux urnes d'ici un mois, en tant que contribuable québécois pour voter sur le sort de ce gouvernement-là.

Est-ce que vous allez voter pour les politiques de ce gouvernement-là - on a prétendu que c'était un bon gouvernement - ou si vous allez voter à ce moment-là, pour la position constitutionnelle?

R. Question un peu malicieuse!

Je pense qu'il n'est pas habituel dans notre pays de demander aux gens quels qu'ils soient, et certainement pas aux chefs de gouvernement, comment ils vont voter aux urnes.

La réponse la plus simple et probablement la plus exacte c'est que je compte voter libéral.

Q. Une autre question rapidement.

Les députés libéraux du Québec, est-ce qu'on leur a fait savoir qu'ils seraient malvenus de se mêler de cette élection-là ou s'ils ont carte blanche?

R. Je crois que monsieur Ryan a déclaré publiquement, il y a quelque temps, peut-être un mois ou deux, qu'il voulait faire ses élections sans l'aide de la députation fédérale. Ce serait parfaitement normal parce que vous savez, comme moi, quelle est l'arme la plus souvent utilisée par le Parti péquiste ou, par l'Union nationale dans le temps. C'était de dire que le parti provincial avait, comme grand frère, celui d'Ottawa. C'est une attaque qui n'a pas de fondement, comme tout le monde sait.

Alors, monsieur Ryan a parfaitement raison de rendre cela évident.

Ca n'empêchera pas, dans des situations locales, un groupe de militants libéraux provinciaux qui, au fond, sont à peu près les mêmes qu'au fédéral, s'ils demandent de l'aide à un député fédéral et que celui-ci peut les aider par ses conseils ou ses avis, qu'il le fasse sûrement, mais parce qu'il y a une distinction nette dans les deux juridictions, je ne pense pas que le cas se présente où la députation fédérale puisse aider dans l'élaboration des programmes.

Que nous puissions aider dans l'établissement de bureaux politiques, je n'y vois pas d'inconvénients et je ne pense pas que monsieur Ryan exprimait son opposition à cela. C'est certainement à tous les niveaux des militants libéraux dans la province; s'ils veulent de l'aide, ils peuvent le demander, mais je pense que nous ferons attention, pour les raisons que monsieur Ryan a parfaitement bien comprises et exprimées, de rendre parfaitement claire, parfaitement évidente cette vérité que le Parti libéral provincial est fort indépendant du nôtre.

J. NEUBACHER (Detroit Free Press, Canadian Bureau): Pardon me for not standing up, sir. In the week before Mr. Reagan's visit to Canada, there were a number of actions taken by the U.S. administration that aroused a lot of concern in Ottawa, in the House of Commons, and in the press. After talking to Mr. Reagan on Tuesday, is it your feeling that that was a conscious negotiating tactic by the American team, or a series of maybe insensitive coincidences?

A. I don't know. If it was the former, I would say they are pretty smart; and if it was the latter, I would say they are not very smart. But I am not quite sure which of the two it is.

I think it is an interesting question, and it can be examined. Certainly, there are some decisions which, quite frankly, if they were going to be unpopular with the Canadian government, it was better to get them out before coming, as in the case of delinkage with the Fisheries Agreement, than to come here and be all sweetness and light and then go home and two weeks later say, "We didn't mean it; we are going to now delink, which we know you don't like."

So, I think that was smart, if that is why they did it. But, you know, I cannot speculate with any more information than you can on whether it was intentional or not.

SUSAN HELWIG, (CBC Radio News): Mr. Prime Minister, Alexander Haig indicated yesterday that there were two areas in which the visit could be said to have influenced American policy. The first of these was the possibility of trilateral discussions and the second was the possible American participation

in the North-South Summit in Mexico. I am wondering, in your discussions, were these dealt with in tandem, and how did you attempt to influence the President on the question of his attending the North-South Summit?

A. Well, we did discuss the Mexican Summit at some length. The President -- one of the first things he told me was that he was planning to meet the President of Mexico in a month, a month and a half or something in Tijuana on the border, and therefore we discussed that summit.

I guess the President knew that I attached great importance to North-South questions, and he was making that point, and he made the point -- which I think now is public enough for me to repeat it -- that he would be very interested in attending that summit under certain conditions. So, we discussed -- I mean attending the North-South, the Cancun Summit And since our own Minister was going to Vienna -- he left last night -- to attend meetings today and tomorrow, I went out of my way to argue for the importance of that meeting, and the President obviously went out of his way to indicate that he understood that and that is why he was indicating a positive disposition to attend in certain conditions.

Does that answer both the aspects of what Secretary Haig raised?

MS. HELWIG: I was really wondering whether they were discussed together and whether, in a sense, you were trying to persuade the President to take part in the North-South discussions, in return for which you would be more interested in trilateral discussions between Mexico, Canada and the United States.

A. Honestly not. There was certainly no

quid pro quo there. If you are talking about the trilateral meetings that I was answering about a moment ago, no. I was anxious to tell the President that I thought it was a good idea, and if this is what he meant or this could be some avenue which he would be interested in exploring in line with his interest in his neighbours that he expressed during the election and since, that was fine with me.

I don't want to claim any originality for it, but my recollection is that I probably raised that with the President of Mexico when I saw him last January. And quite honestly, I phoned him yesterday after the President had left to tell him what I had said, if for the only reason that I had mentioned it publicly at the press conference yesterday, at the statements yesterday. But there was no linkage in my mind, and I doubt whether there was any in the President's mind.

It is something that I think would be to our advantage as North Americans. Therefore, I don't consider it as paying a price when I say that I would be happy to do that.

DOUGLAS SMALL (Global TV): Back to the Quebec election for just a minute, sir, would you care to hazard a guess, either reasoned or emotional, on the outcome of the election, and what kind of support and advice are you prepared to give Ryan's Liberals in the campaign, if they ask you for it?

A. No, I am notoriously bad at predicting the result of elections. I naturally hope the Liberals would win. They haven't been announced yet, have they I take it? Until they announce it, I suppose I am not intervening in an election campaign, so I can

express my view that, to me, the Parti-Quebecois is a separatist party. And it, maybe / for tactical reasons, as it did on the referendum and the form of the question on the referendum, try to pretend that it is not, but I think some considerable number of years living in the Province of Quebec and acquaintance with many of the eminent leaders of the party make it obvious to me that the aim of that party is to take Quebec out of confederation, and I do not see why it should be rewarded at the polls by those who don't believe that Quebec should be taken out of the/confederation.

As far as good government is concerned, I am every bit as convinced as Mr. Ryan is that he can provide better government than the Levesque-Pariseau team.

JOHN MACLEAN (Freelance): Prime Minister, my question has to do with the appointment of the next Justice of the Supreme Court. Since Mr. Justice Ronald Martland turned 74 a month ago, is there some speculation not only about whom you might appoint, but whether you might appoint a woman for the first time.

Do you have any views today on the desirability of that kind of appointment?

A. I do have views, because I remember before I made the last appointment I sought quite earnestly to get names of women who could -- and this was a Quebec appointment, and it is a province I know well -- who would be ready and qualified and able and willing to sit in the Supreme Court.

Some effort was made by Mr.Chretien, the Minister of Justice, and myself to find a positive answer to that. We failed. That is not saying we were right or that there weren't women who would have done it, but our judgement was

that we made the best possible appointment at the time. But any position for which I can find an equally qualified and willing female appointment, I would favour. That applies to the Supreme Court.

ANDREW SZENDE (Toronto Star): Prime Minister, during the discussions you had with President Reagan and Alexander Haig, you seemed to abandon all criticism of the American policy on El Salvador. I am wondering / what new information did they make available to you that persuaded you that their policy is now correct.

A. They didn't give me any information. I don't know if they gave any to Mr. MacGuigan. But whatever position I took, I find consistent with the position I had before the visit and which I had even in the House of Commons.

We told the Americans we think that the solution should be political, not military, and in that sense we condemn the supply of arms to the area. But I never said I only condemn supply from one side. On the contrary, I made it quite clear in the House of Commons that we were as concerned with the supply of arms that were coming to the insurgents as that to the government side. And / my position from the beginning in El Salvador, as it has been in Tehran and in every other area -- Poland, if you want -- is that we hope that the moderates will prevail -- and that means, not /in the case of El Salvador, and /not a Marxist party and not a Fascist party. And that has been our position and remains our position.

I am not sure to what extent the Americans believe it, but I think Mr. MacGuigan made it even more clear

than I have that Duarte now seems the best chance for a moderate solution. Whether that chance will be fulfilled, I don't know. I wouldn't like to be in his shoes.

I hope some day an election will be held in that country and that the people will decide. That is a difficult election to hold, but certainly that is the best solution, rather than outside intervention.

And that is the position we took on Poland that -- let the Poles settle the problem themselves. And if there had been a civil war there, I think it would have been disastrous for everybody, because both sides would have been sending in arms -- and the Poles probably sensed that. And my guess would be that the Salvadorian people would sense that, too. They would rather have no war and a peaceful political solution than the triumph of the military rightists at one end or the insurgent revolutionaries on the other.

MR. SZENDE: I wonder if there could be any relationship between our agreement with the American policy now and the withholding of any criticism of our National Energy Program by the Americans?

A. Honestly, on that I am not quite sure what the Americans expected of us, and I am not even sure if, in your sense, that we delivered if they expected something -- you say our agreement now with the Americans.

Maybe I would understand better if you could briefly elaborate in what sense you think my policies have changed as a result of the American visit.

MR. SZENDE: It seems to me, sir, that a week

or so ago, or ten days ago, you used the expression that it was an error for the Americans to send arms ---

A. No, no. I said it was a mistake to try and find a military solution -- and that didn't apply only to the Americans. I made it quite clear in my answer to Broadbent -- or was it Pauline Jewett, I forget -- that this applied to both sides. But, you know, that can be washing your hands of it. We know that arms are coming in from the other side. So what do you do about it? -- fall on your knees and pray that they will stop sending them, or do you try to express views, as I did, that there should be no outside intervention.

Quite frankly, if one side is going to send in arms, I can't get overly incensed that the other side is going to say, "Well, please help. Give us some arms, too."

Do you find that offensive?

MR. SZENDE: The only point that the Americans seemed to be making before they got here was an interview that Mr. Allan gave just before they got here -- was that once they made their information available to you, it would be pretty clear to the Canadian government why the Americans are doing what they are doing, and that is why I asked the original question.

A. I think what they had in mind was that they were going to prove to us, black and white, that arms were coming in from Cuba, or from Viet Nam, or -- you know, from the "other side" as we like to say.

Frankly, I didn't have to have that explained to me. If they had that proof and if they gave it to MacGuigan, I don't know. You could ask him. But anybody who looks at it -- and it is not easy to understand what is going on there, but it is

obvious that the insurgents are getting arms from somewhere, and it is probably not Santa Claus. So, why do I have to have General Haig explain to me that it -- whether it is from Cuba or Viet Nam or Czechoslovakia, to me, is quite secondary. The other guy's got guns./ And Duarte, who was elected by the people in '72 and who was the closest thing we have to a democratically chosen leader, and who went into exile for it, is now trying to form a coalition of the centre, and I say the least we can do is wish him good luck. And I said that before the Americans came, and I am saying it now. So, there again, I don't think I have done a favour to the Americans.

GAYLE MORRIS (CFCF-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, I was wondering if you could give us a few specifics. Yesterday both President Ronald Reagan and yourself gave us general statements about your discussions, and two of the areas we haven't touched so far today are acid rain and the fisheries.

On the fisheries, you did say you thought the President had something else in mind. In fact, you were confident that the "something else" could be beneficial to both sides.

Could you give us more specifics on both those areas?

A. Well, I thought I was specific on that. If I wasn't, I apologize. It was that the President said, quite clearly -- and so did General Haig -- that they were going to negotiate scallop management, or come up with a scallop management treaty for Georges Bank. And we said, "Well, you had better check it with us, because if it just manages scallops for your people, we won't be very happy. We are not happy anyhow, because

we thought that that was the name of the game four and five years ago when we were negotiating this whole matter, and we thought that that was what in fact the treaty in front of the Senate, which is now withdrawn, was saying -- here is a way to manage that resource." And I cannot hide our disappointment, as MacGuigan said -- or our bitter disappointment, as LeBlanc would say/ --not so much that they that the treaty is withdrawn but that it wasn't passed by the Senate. But now they have to deliver in some other way, and if we don't think that they are going to deliver in some other way, there won't be any peace on that front. That is quite clear. And we haven't accepted the delinkage yet, either. We want to see what their intentions are in that particular -- you know from the outset we've said that the boundaries are one thing, the management of the fisheries is another, but they have to go together. It doesn't make sense to have a boundary in fisheries if, when it comes to managing the stock, you don't agree. So, the two go together, in our spirit, and if the Americans want to delink them, this goes against our whole approach to that. But if they are telling us, as they did, "Well, don't worry, though we are delinking it, it is in order to come up with a management program which would give you the same satisfaction, and especially will preserve the species for the present and future generation of fishermen." Well, we will have to wait and see. But, as I say, we haven't accepted the delinkage. We haven't said that we would accept one treaty and not the other. It will depend on what they come up with.

So, that is peace for now, but I think that is the attitude we adopted, and have to adopt. It is a new

administration. They have inherited a lot of problems which had not been resolved, and I think the least we could do is give them time to sort it out and come back with answers -- in, hopefully in a short while. But look, we've already lost two years when the fish was being overfished, and before that the whole time of negotiation we lost time, too, when the fish was being overfished, and much more delay would be irresponsible.

JAMES WALKER, (ABC News): Prime Minister ---

MS. MORRIS: Sir, the other question was on acid rain. Can you give us a few / more specifics on what you and the President discussed on acid rain?

A. They indicated to us -- and I rather think the President said it in his statement to the House -- but anyhow that the Memorandum of Agreement that we negotiated last summer and the -- didn't he say quite clearly that it was their intention to make progress on, where is it? --

The President read, in the House of Commons:

" We have continued our effort begun with the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement ---"

Oh, that's water.

"We want to continue to work co-operatively to understand and control the air and water pollution that respects no borders."

"Work co-operatively to understand and control the air and water pollution". Now that / is what they want to do. That is what we want to do, too.

Will they deliver or not? -- Let's give them

a few weeks to see if they will.

JAMES WALKER (ABC News): A follow-up question, if I may, about the fisheries matter.

How long will you give the Reagan administration to come up with a scallop management program? And two: Sir, in talking with some of your scallopers from Lunenberg, they would like to see the federal government, in absence of the Fisheries Treaty, remove the scallop restriction in order to even the odds in terms of American fishermen.

A. Well, if you knew our Minister of Fisheries, Mr. LeBlanc, you would be gambling that he won't wait very long to remove those restrictions. How long is very long, I don't know; but, as I said yesterday at the press conference, we are gambling that our scallop fishermen are every bit as good and probably better than the New England ones. And if we start fishing in those contested areas over Georges Banks, scallops won't last as long, hopefully, as even my government would last.

So, it is urgent. But we have waited for what, four years, five years now. I am saying that we are certainly prepared to wait a little while until the new administration catches its breath. But you are quite right, and the Lunenberg fisherman is taking a perfectly realistic idea. Why should Canadians, if the stock is going to be depleted and made extinct courtesy of the American fishermen, why shouldn't we grab as much as we can while there is still some around?

I am really talking to the American people and some of the Senators more than I am taking to President Reagan,

because our difficulty wasn't with President Carter; it was with the New England senators and the people down there, and American public opinion, for gosh sake You know, when I went to Berkeley a few years ago, I had all these guys with signs about saving the seals. Well, they are destroying a species right off their shores. I admit that a scallop doesn't look as enticing as a seal and as cuddly. It depends how much of an environmentalist you are.

MICHAEL VALPY (Vancouver Sun): Perhaps a small point, Prime Minister, but I am fascinated by the subject of this withdrawn State Department letter. I want to ask you, did the Americans withdraw it after we said to them, you know," Hey guys, this language is really intemperate between friends." And if that is the correct assumption, what was in the letter that was so steamy?

A. I didn't read the letter. I was given a copy of it. I am sure it is "precious" in our files somewhere. So, I can't answer the last part of the question. But the first part of the question has as its answer "Yes." Somebody got a hold of it here, and I think somebody in the Financial Times got a hold of it, or something.

Didn't it come out in part in the United States?

MICHEL GALAN: The Wall Street Journal.

A. C'est pareil. So, you can look at it -- what was steam in it? I know that our people who saw it said, "My gosh, you really didn't mean to send this,did you?" And they said, "No, we really did not." That it was some middle level guys

who got worked up and didn't check with the Minister, and that's what happened.

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE, OTTAWA, LE 26 MARS 1981

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, MARCH 26, 1981

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

MICHEL GUENARD, TVA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, suite à l'élection de monsieur Davis en Ontario et à l'élection du 13 avril au Québec et à supposer qu'un gouvernement soit formé au Québec par monsieur Ryan, est-ce que cela va modifier d'une quelconque façon vos projets de résolution constitutionnelle ou, en d'autres termes, est-ce qu'il y a espoir qu'on puisse voir une nouvelle conférence fédérale-provinciale avec monsieur Davis et monsieur Ryan et les autres partenaires avant que vous procédiez à un rapatriement de Londres?

R. Avant, non mais après, je l'espère. J'espère que monsieur Ryan sera là, avec monsieur Davis, parce que, comme vous le savez, il y a, dans notre résolution devant la Chambre des communes et devant le Sénat une proposition précise pour que, pendant deux ans, les premiers ministres provinciaux et moi-même négocions sur une formule d'amendement et d'autres amendements possibles. Ces réunions-là sont donc prévues et j'espère que c'est monsieur Ryan qui y assistera au nom du gouvernement québécois.

JOHN FERGUSON, C.P.: Mr. Prime Minister, you were in the midst of a challenge in the Commons today when you were shouted down, and I am not just sure precisely what that challenge was. You seemed to be about to say that you were prepared to call an election. Could you complete it for us?

A. No, no. My challenge? Or the challenge was thrown at me?

Q. You said--

A. You understood their challenge to have an election now.

Q. Now. You seemed to say-- you didn't finish.

A. My answer was let's get the patriation home, let's get the Constitution home; then, if any party wants an election on the platform that we will send the Constitution back to Britain or have it without a charter of basic rights, I am prepared to call an election on that. I don't think any party will challenge me on that.

Q. So you wouldn't be prepared to have the House pass the resolution and then call an election and have whichever party wins decide whether or not to send it along to Westminster.

A. No, that's what I call procrastination. It seems to me that we've been given evidence of all kinds of tactics for delay-- the use of the courts, the use of potential agreements, the use of perhaps further progress amongst the Premiers, and now this latest one of let's have another delay so that there can be a general election. I say if you're so sure that a general election will solve the matter, sure let's have it but let's get this thing done first and then if we should lose a general election on that, as I have said quite clearly on Monday in my speech, if an Opposition Party wins a general election on the basis that it will either send the Constitution back to Britain or, more likely, take a charter out of the Canadian Constitution, then of course it can under our amending formula proceed to do that. So nothing, I repeat, is irreversible, but I don't want it to be stopped now by the process of a general election. I was quite serious when I said the people opposite want the general election for other reasons than seeing if Canadians support our constitutional resolution. Some of them, like Mr. Clark wants an election so that he can hopefully save his skin. And the others want an election knowing that he'll be defeated and then they can have a quick leadership conference. But that's so transparent to me that I

don't think it is worth serious analysis.

MALCOM SCULLY, CKO Radio: Mr. Prime Minister, each province has appeared to be close to an agreement on a slightly different form of the Vancouver amending formula. What objections do you have to including that slightly amended Vancouver formula in the Constitution along with the same provisions that are there for the one that is in the Constitution now; that there is a two-year period of unanimity, then there is a referendum, perhaps, to decide if that one will be in fact the formula.

A. Well, if you have news that the provinces are close to an agreement, then you have a scoop that I am not able to share. But, if they do, we don't have to wait two years. We can sit down the day after the Constitution is back, have a federal-provincial conference, and then substitute the unanimity formula or the Victoria formula--replace them by the one on which we have agreed. So we can do all that and have their formula, too, if they are agreed and if it is a sensible one. There is no need to wait two years with the unanimity rule. The resolution says that during two years there shall be negotiation to find agreement, after which the people will be asked to decide in a referendum. But if your hypothesis is right or if your information is based on fact, then I am prepared to

look at it now and undertake that within months after the Canadian Constitution will have been-- within weeks after the Canadian Constitution will have been proclaimed we will sit down-- and not wait one year or two, but do it right now, put this improved formula in.

But until we know what it is, until we know whether it exists, it is certainly not reasonable to ask us to use that as yet another excuse to procrastinate.

JACK BEST, CAN. WORLD NEWS: Q. Mr. Prime Minister Trudeau, all indications are that the U.S., particularly if the Secretary of State Alexander Haig has his way, is going to take a stand against the Communist penetration in this hemisphere by drawing some kind of a line around El Salvador and Nicaragua.

I am wondering would you be inclined to offer Canada's support to the U.S. in this endeavour and, if so, what form would such assistance be?

A. I don't know of any such policy by the United States. If they adopt one and if they ask us to support them, we will examine it, but from your description I certainly cannot give a considered answer as to what we would do.

What is this? A new version of the Munroe doctrine? Or does this apply only to Communists? Or what? Where have you got this information?

Q. Mr. Haig said-- I can't quote his words precisely, but he said, the other day, we'll have to take measures to stop this penetration. He is referring to the situation in El Salvador.

A. President Kennedy, I suppose, said something like that about Cuba, but I don't think he was drawing a line around any other particular country.

I also don't know what this doctrine would be.

Q. A supplementary: as a matter of basic principle, can you see any way in which Canada does or should have a role to play in protecting the military security in this hemisphere even though we don't belong to the Rio Treaty or the OAS?

A. As far as the northern part of the hemisphere is concerned, we are already in an alliance with the United States called NORAD, and that is a protective alliance for this part of North America.

Q. What about Central America?

A. I don't see us in any way getting involved in that. You know, our basic thinking is that most of the Communist penetrations have been made where there has been either a political vacuum or conditions of social disaster. And the whole thrust of our North/South policy and the whole thrust of our foreign aid program is to try and create conditions in the countries which are either friendly or neutral, at least conditions where the people won't have to resort to arms in order to get justice. I mean that's why in the case of El Salvador and other countries we have aligned ourselves with the Human Rights Commission if the United Nations and condemned the abuse of human rights in El Salvador and other countries.

I think I said clearly in front of President Reagan that we don't seek military solutions to these. We hope there will be a negotiated agreement, a negotiated settlement based on the political realities, whether it be El Salvador, whether it be Namibia, whether it applied to Zimbabwe, a year or two back, that was always our position.

GARRY ALDRIDGE, CBC RADIO: Q. Mr. Prime Minister, in your House of Commons speech you asked the Opposition to define consensus for you. But, I wonder haven't you already done that in very exact terms in the interim amending procedure in your own resolution, and doesn't that consensus say that there can never be any agreement unless both Ontario and Quebec agree, because it talks about seven provinces with 80% or more of the population of the country. And doesn't that give Ontario and Quebec not

only a permanent veto under the Victoria formula you suggest, but also a veto over whether or not any alternative amending formula can ever go to a referendum to the people of Canada?

A. If you followed my speech, as you seem to indicate you have, I gave the answer to that. That is not my formula. That was the formula that was negotiated by the ten provinces and the Federal Government in 1971, and it wasn't even my input. I would like to boast that it was. It wasn't. It was found by some of the Premiers or their representatives working with us in trying to find ways in which they could agree. And the Premiers finally agreed to that one. We said fine. I've always made it clear that it isn't my preferred formula. My preferred formula doesn't give a veto to Quebec or Ontario. But it was the preferred formula of ten Premiers ten years ago.

Q. But your amending procedure or your alternative procedure for those two years gives the veto to Ontario and Quebec on whether or not even an alternative should go to the people in a referendum, because it says seven provinces with 80% or more of the population.

A. That is right. But I made it clear, too, I believe in an earlier press conference, that this seven provinces number-- well, not only it wasn't magic, but it had been changed. At one point we had seven and then we went to eight. You will recall the first draft of the bill had eight. Then we reduced it again to seven.

What I want is the provinces to find some agreement amongst themselves. You realize that we couldn't

have less than six provinces, could we? Because we could have five provinces agreeing on one and five on the other, and we could sit down forever and say, "Get your act together." So we had to take a majority. It could have been six instead of seven or instead of eight. But we took seven as a compromise between those who said, "Well, you have to have a large consensus," and we went to eight when they said that. But then they began to think as you do, "If it is too large, then we won't ever be able to agree." So then we said we would bring it back to seven. I would have been prepared to bring it to six. But I think you will understand that it would have been difficult to bring it to five because then you would have half the provinces-- do you not follow this?

Q. No, because it means the number of provinces -- you have talked about that being changed from eight down to seven. In real terms that doesn't matter. In practical terms that doesn't matter because we are still talking about the total population of the country, and as long as it sits at 80%, you require both Ontario and Quebec-- not one or the other, but both Ontario and Quebec -- to agree to any alternative amending formula that could ever even go to a referendum where you talk about the people making the final decision.

A. I understand this point, too; but I make the same answer. If you are objecting to provinces being singled out, then that is one thing, and I have given you my answer: I don't care about naming provinces. If you are objecting to us basing it on the percentage of the population, my answer is that I am prepared to lower that,

and even in my speech I said six provinces was 80%, or 85, or 75. And if you want me to say 70, it's okay with me. Or 65. I am easy on that. But we did have to come down with one figure and one proposition. And you will note that nobody has argued that/was unfair or that they wanted something else. The only argument I heard was during the preparatory stage when we were discussing, as I say, seven or eight. But nobody argued about that.

There is one proposition put forward by Senator Tremblay in his testimony on behalf of the Conservatives, in February, I believe, where you will recall, I think, he starts with unanimity, then I think he goes to 80%, then he goes to 70, then he goes to 60 and then he doesn't say "And that will be it" or 51, for that matter. Then he says "If they can't agree then, it will be back to unanimity." And you know, that's the Catch 22 of it.

I don't want to go to unanimity, but I'd want some sufficiently large percentage of the population that the various regions of Canada could feel represented. But that's a matter, once again, for the provinces to discuss and agree upon. If they can agree on Senator Tremblay's third formula, that's fine with me. I am saying publicly that I would be prepared in the two-year period we are discussing to look at such a formula.

You point out a real difficulty. If we had had too small proportions, then a lot of people would have said, you know, "They are going to divide and conquer. They are going to have six provinces with 51% of the population."

So we went for a rather larger consensus but, as I said, once again, in the House, it's not my preferred formula either as replacement to Victoria and as an indication what agreement rests with the provinces, it was a compromise between those who wanted more and those who, like you, presumably, wanted less.

BILL FOX, TORONTO STAR: Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if you could give us a legal opinion, presuming your joint resolution is approved here and approved in Westminster, what would be the status of that Constitution if the Supreme Court of Canada decides that the action that initiated it all was illegal?

A. Well, that is a very interesting thing to ask and, I suppose, to speculate upon. You will notice that when I got to that in the House I didn't speculate upon it. I just said presumably the Court would realize that there is a political debate here and the courts wouldn't like to be involved in the political debate. And that's when I went on to say I think the provinces have asked themselves that question and that's why they are using the courts to procrastinate-- and it took six weeks, I think, to launch the Manitoba appeal and they did the Newfoundland reference a long time after the Manitoba one, and the Quebec one after that.

I am not answering a question, but the answer is, you know, it is for the courts to say that-- to what degree they would do something. But, if I could just put you on a train of thought and then you take it from there, conceivably the courts could say, for example, this Constitution has been patriated with a charter of rights on such and such

a section of the charter, or maybe on the whole charter itself, the federal government acted ultra vires, and that would be struck down and we would have patriation without a specific section of a charter. You know, that's very, very speculative. But you can think along those lines if you want. After all, the Supreme Court Justices are paid to think along those lines. They will have to decide what to do.

I would argue, as I have in the House and as I have in the beginning that the courts cannot make that decision because we will have followed the same procedure followed everytime since 1867-- a joint resolution in getting these amendments. And, therefore, it is legal; therefore, it is not breaking any conventions, as the majority decided in the Manitoba case and, therefore, that's that.

Whether the Supreme Court will agree with me or not, we'll find, if it ever gets there-- and it will, since the Manitoba case is in appeal-- but they are the ones to draw the conclusion. When a court decides something, it decides it. And they will answer your question. If they don't answer it my way, they will have to answer your question. But, you know, I put everything I have in asserting that they will answer it as we are asking the British to answer it. The means are legal, they are legitimate and they are moral; therefore, we are doing it and it should be done.

Q. Why wouldn't you wait for the Supreme Court to render that decision, sir, before proceeding to conclude all of these possibilities?

A. Well, because I think that this matter, I repeat, is legal, it's legitimate and it's moral. And I am a politician, I am not a judge. If litigants feel that what we are doing is ultra vires they can go to the courts, as indeed they have. If they do, the courts will judge and, if necessary, provide a remedy.

But, you know, your question is much like, "Why don't you have an election before you pass a Bill the House of Commons?" Why don't you go to the courts everytime you want to have a Bill that is debated by the Opposition. Wait. Go to the courts first.

I say we have been waiting 54 years. We won't wait any longer. To me this is another procrastinating tactic. Incidentally, for those of you who are interested in procedure, I am proud to say that not knowing much about procedure, in this debate with Mr. Clark on Beauchesne I was dead right and they were-- you ask Stanley Knowles or you look up Beauchesne,in the Journals. I just got the quote now, and it is really preposterous.

What happened in 1948 is that the government was referring something to a Standing Committee. Diefenbaker moved an amendment saying that there should be a reference to the Supreme Court. Beauchesne said the amendment is against the Order, is against the rules because the amendment wants the government to do something different and, therefore, it's the amendment that is ultra vires./ The Government in other words, has to make up its mind: it either goes to the Standing Committee or it goes to the Supreme Court. It cannot do both. That is what Beauchesne said, and that's why he said you can't go to two public bodies at the same

time, and the Government of the day had chosen the Standing Committee route. Diefenbaker said it should go the other route. Well, that's not an acceptable amendment because it denies-- it contradicts the first. That is what Beauchesne had decided, and it makes sense. But that's when the same Government wants to do two contradictory things or the same Parliament wants to do two contradictory things. It doesn't apply to some litigation arising outside of the House. Do you follow me?

DOUG FISHER, TORONTO SUN: Q. Mr. Trudeau, in your speech on Monday you said that the federal government is limiting its powers under the Emergency Act to infringe upon public liberties. Did you mean the War Measures Act rather than the Emergency Act?

A. The War Measures Act is adopted by virtue of the emergency powers. It flows from the constitutional doctrine of emergency.

Q. If this is so, could you elaborate on what effect the charter of rights would have upon the War Measures Act in its imposition? Would there be something happen prior to the invocation that, in a sense, would soften or mitigate some of the measures that are open under the War Measures Act? Or is it just that there would be redress through the courts?

A. No, no. It is that the Supreme Court would be able to use the charter saying that there shall be no infringement of liberty, or freedom, or whatever it is and make a judgment if this infringement is authorized by the charter. And prima facie it is not except-- and there is the preamble when measures normally accepted in democratic

societies, and so on. And the courts would have to make a judgment whether in this democratic society at this time that particular kind of action is justified. And in that sense the courts would be called upon to rule whether there was a real emergency as definable under the preamble to the charter.

Q. If this would be after the invocation of the War Measures Act?

A. Yes.

Q. And after the application it wouldn't have any effect upon the War Measures Act as it now stands and can be used?

A. Well, no, because if the War Measures Act is used, for instance, when there is a war and the enemy is climbing over the border, the courts would probably decide that there was something of an emergency. So we are not taking the War Measures Act out of the books. We are making sure that the courts will judge the action of any government trumping up some phoney emergency situation.

PETER THOMPSON, WINNIPEG FREE PRESS: Q. To clarify an answer to a previous question, did I understand you to express the opinion that the Supreme Court of Canada might be able to find ultra vires a certain part of, say, the charter even though it is going to be a British Act?

A. I was trying to help the questioner find circumstances where this appeal makes sense. I am not going to say it does. I disagree with the minority judgment of the Manitoba court, so I am not agreeing with your proposition. I am saying if you want to ask yourself what could the court do-- well, if they find as the provinces suggest, then they will have to draw the consequences; and that would be one of them.

Q. Even of the British Act?

A. Well, you're on my side. If it's--

JOHN FERGUSON, CANADIAN PRESS: Q. Mr. Prime Minister, could you clarify a statement you made earlier. You said you would be prepared to lower the 80% referring to the negotiations in the next two years and whether or not Ontario and Quebec-- is that a firm offer now? Are you going to lower that? What conditions would have to apply in order for you to lower it?

A. Well, there are two things. Insofar as the replacement of the Victoria formula by something, it will say six provinces, 85% of the population. I said in my speech I would be prepared to consider 80 or 75 . So, in that sense I am prepared to lower it-- the final formula on which hypothetically the provinces and us could agree. Now, that is how relaxed I am about any particular percentage.

Q. You won't lower it?

A. I won't be able to lower it once this resolution is passed in its present form, if that's what you're asking.

Q. Because the question, I think, referred to the 80% figure which was to determine whether or not an alternative could be put to the people in a national referendum. I thought you had said you would be prepared to lower that figure because as it stands now Ontario and Quebec have a veto over whether an alternative to the Victoria formula or a federal formula could even be put to the people in national referendum, and I understood you to say that you are prepared to lower that 80% figure. Am I correct in my understanding?

A. Insofar as my disposition is concerned, yes, I am happy to lower it. I gave the example that in the negotiation period I did lower it from eight to seven in the case of the numbers, and I would have lowered it, you know, to be quite frank, some Premier talked to me about that and I said, "Yes, I understand, come back with a better number. We are still drafting the thing." So, I am not bound-- I wasn't bound to any particular number. But once the Bill is passed and the rules are stated, well that is what the rules will be.

Q. Exactly. And that's why I am asking you once it's passed, the 80% is in for two years. So I am asking you now are you saying that you will lower the 80% threshold figure so that, in other words, it would require provinces with 60% of the population to support a formula that would be put up against the Victoria formula or whatever other formula you came up with in a national referendum?

Will you lower that 80%?

A. I am saying that I cannot change the rules of the Constitution and the hypotheses were--

Q. You can now. Before it passes.

A. Yes, but lower to what before it passes?

Q. Well, that's what I am asking.

A. I am telling you--

Q. Lowered to what you said, 70-60.

A. Yes, but-- have any provinces--

Q. 65.

A. Well, I am telling you if tomorrow Mr. Clark says we will pass the whole thing in three stages in all stages by the end of the week providing you lower it to something, I am prepared to lower it. I am not theoretically bound to any particular figure. But not a single province--

Q. Someone has to give you something--

A. I am not going to lower it just because a question was asked at the press conference.

Q. What do you have to have?

A. No. We discussed this with some provinces before and somebody asked me to lower the figure from eight to seven. I lowered it. Nobody asked me to lower the figure from 80 to 70 or 60 or 50 for the simple reason that they can't agree amongst themselves.

But, I repeat, I wasn't bound to any particular figure, and I gave as an / evidence that I lowered one from eight to seven. But, you know, don't ask me just to please you guys that I am going to change the whole Act.

DENIS LABRECQUE , Télémédia: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous avez voté au référendum. Votre bureau a confirmé que vous aviez voté aussi à l'élection en Ontario.

Est-ce que vous allez voter au Québec et, si oui, comment est-ce que ça se fait?

R. On me dit que théoriquement, d'après la loi, je pourrais voter dans les deux provinces, parce que la loi électorale de l'Ontario est basée sur la notion de résidence, - et j'ai une résidence, rue Sussex, alors que la loi québécoise est basée sur la notion de domicile; or, mon domicile est à Montréal.

Alors, théoriquement, je pourrais voter pour les deux, mais je pense que vous trouveriez peut-être ça indécent, si je votais dans les deux (provinces). comme je ne veux pas être accusé d'indécence, j'ai voté en Ontario, à la demande de mon ami Albert Roy, dans son comté, et je n'ai pas l'intention de voter au Québec.

BOB ABRA, RADIO-CANADA INTER.: Q. It is probably a little redundant, sir, but Premier Blakeney today said that one of his objections was giving the Senate a veto on constitutional proposals which it does not now have and also the veto for individual provinces in the referendum.

A. Is that a question, or a statement?

Q. That's what he said. I am just asking your view.

A. He said that giving... I thought you were just giving me a preamble to your question.

Q. He said his objection was that the resolution had been changed to give the Senate a veto on constitutional amendment which it does not now have and also, referring to the referendum, the veto to Ontario or Quebec.

A. If he said that he is obviously ill-informed. But I doubt whether he said that. Maybe he was badly quoted. Because the Senate does have a veto now. Since 1867 a joint address had to be a joint address which means if it is joint, the Senate agrees. So, in that sense the Senate has always had a veto, and we are not changing that.

What he might have meant to say or what he might have said and was not correctly reported was that at one point in our joint resolution, and I think it was Section 44 that said that the Senate could only have a suspensive veto rather than absolute veto. And at one point, mainly because the Senate has grumbled, we said, okay, we'll leave the status quo. The Senate will have its absolute veto rather than a suspensive veto. That much is true. Then we withdrew

Section 44.

But, if Mr. Blakeney is using that as an excuse for not supporting the resolution-- I mean this is a big if. If he is saying that, you know, I will very seriously challenge him. Because let me tell you that Premier Blakeney did raise that with me once and I just said "Okay, supposing we don't take Section 44 out? Suppose we only leave the suspensive veto? Will you back me then?" And he said, "No."

So, that is purely an excuse if he is using it. It's purely hogwash if he is using it.

GEOFFREY STEVENS, GLOBE: Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I think this is the first press conference in years that I can think of where the list of questioners ran out before the allotted time. Do you draw any conclusions, perhaps, from that that the state of public interest in the Constitution at this stage?

A. Maybe. I even remarked to Patrick when I came in, it's a remarkably sparse and lymphatic crowd. I guess we all see the inevitable. What's the point of hitting your head on a wall?

But, you know, are the people interested? I know I had a meeting yesterday with some fifteen groups representing two and a half million Canadians, ethnic groups, very articulate spokesmen of all kinds of minority groups in Canada and I am told it wasn't reported on the national news-- either of the national networks. Global had a mention at six o'clock and apparently the only reference they have been able to find is in the Citizen.

I guess you are making the judgment that people don't want to hear about the support for the Constitution even by two and a half million people because what's new? Everybody is supporting it. Isn't that right?

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Transcript of an interview between Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Doug Small, Ottawa Bureau Chief of Global Television News. The interview, taped in Ottawa on April 2, 1981 will be broadcast on Global Television Sunday, April 5, 1981 at 10 p.m., E.S.T.

Doug Small: Prime Minister, the constitutional debate now seems to not be a debate, but a brawl. And it seems that the Supreme Court will be called in to act as a referee in this. That is a process that could take some time, and if that's the case, does that mean your July first deadline is no longer a realistic one?

Prime Minister: I really can't say, because one doesn't know how long the Supreme Court will take to render on, at least, the Manitoba appeal. But, my interpretation of the Supreme Court's decision to hear the appeals rather early rather than, I think it was sometime in late May or June, . . .I think the Supreme Court decision to hear the case rather early means that they want to give a decision rather early. And if that is the case we can still meet the July first deadline. Assuming the Supreme Court renders a decision at the end of May or something then we'd still have several weeks in the House of Commons to pass it, and. . .I mean, the British House of Commons, to pass it, because under our timetable it would have passed here.

D.S. So you have no new sort of target date in your own mind?

P.M. No.

D.S. You're still willing to think of July first as a reasonable date?

P.M. I'm still thinking July first is a reasonable date.

D.S. One of the things, in theory at least, of passing the resolution, but not proclaiming it before. . .not making it the law of the land until the Supreme Court has ruled, means that this act might never be proclaimed. In theory, at least, that could be so. And that could mean that Canada might have to go through this whole process all over again. And the question is, if that is the case, why have you agreed to go along with this idea of a reference? You've opposed it for so long.

P.M. Well, I haven't, actually. My position is still that parliament should deal with it, because it's our job as parliamentarians to make laws. Then the court should judge it, because it's the job of the courts to judge laws, and we should give them a law that they can judge.

2-2-2
Transcript of an interview between the Prime Minister and Doug Small.

So the question of proclamation doesn't enter in my preferred course. We would pass it, we would proclaim it, but it wouldn't become the constitutional law of Canada because of this strange quirk that it can only become the constitutional law of Canada once it's passed the Great Britain parliament. So, the essence of my compromise was not to suggest we shouldn't pass it here. . .I think that, as legislators, that's our job, to pass laws, and we often pass laws which then are challenged in the courts. So we should do our job, pass the law. But then my suggestion was once it is passed here and the court has judged on it and assuming the Supreme Court will judge that the law is valid and constitutional and the answer to the provinces questions on it will be favorable to us. . . on these assumptions, then Britain would pass it and that's the kind of guarantee I'm giving to the other parties, that we wouldn't have a constitution as a result of some illegality of this parliament.

D.S. It still seems to me, though, that you're running a greater risk, that we may not get out of the dilemma, that you're original course was actually a more efficient course.

P.M. It was. It was a more efficient course, but because we didn't want to use the guillotine, or closure earlier, because we wanted to hear as many people as the opposition wanted to have in front of the committees, and as many witnesses, it took much more time than we had originally thought. And then, the provinces launched these judicial actions. And as a compromise, I'm saying well, we will give the Supreme Court a chance to act. And, you're quite right, if the Supreme Court were to judge that our action is illegal, or ultravires, either in whole or in part, then obviously we couldn't go to Britain with this. But that's not an undesirable fact, because if we had gone to Britain with something which later would be judged illegal by the Supreme Court, we wouldn't be in a very good position. So I thought it would be a guesture to advance obedience to the law if it is interpreted by the courts. . .the law, to be ultravires.

D.S. The two decisons that have come down in the courts, the one is Manitoba which was a split decision in your favor, and the one in Newfoundland which was a unanimous decison against you. . .has this made you any more nervous about the next stage, about a Supreme Court reference. Has it made you any more nervous about the very validity of the plan?

3-3-3
Transcript of an interview between the Prime Minister and Doug Small.

P.M. It hasn't made me nervous at all, Doug. I understand that you're going to show my speech, part of it anyhow, that I made in the House of Commons. I think if anything can be concluded form that is that, I know we're on the right side of history. We're doing what the people say should be done. Partirate,with an amending formula, and with a charter of rights. Even Mr. Epp, on behalf of the Conservative Party stated that the people wanted, and I've quoted in my speech, wanted patriation with an amending formula and a charter of rights. So what we are doing is giving the people what every body says the people want. The argument then, is not whether we're doing something right or wrong, the argument is whether the process, the way in which we are doing it, is right or wrong. And I think it's our job, as politicians to give the people what they want. We have tried to give them what they want for fifty-four years through unanimity. It hasn't worked. I'm saying let's try another way. The opposition says this other way is illegal. I'm saying, well, let's ask the courts if it's illegal, and if it is, obviously we won't be able to do it. But if it's not, we will be able to do it legally, and we'll be able to give the people what they want. So that's why I'm relaxed about it. I'm not nervous. . .I know we're doing what the the people want. I'm not sure we're doing it in the way the people would prefer, because the people prefer agreement. But once again I have to make the demonstration, as I do in my speech, that unanimous agreement has not worked for fifty four years. And we can't afford to see it not work another fifty four years. And I esteem it's our duty as polticians to try and find another way of doing it. And it's the duty of the courts to decide whether that other way is legal or not. But first we must attempt it. Then the courts must say that attempt is intravires, it is legal, or it is not. . .it is constitutional, or it is not. And if it is constitutional, then Britain will have no difficulty in passing it, as it always has.

D.S. What's your latest reading of the public mood. It seems to me that it may have changed. We've been in this process since last October. Presumably, the public opinion waxes and wanes in a time like that. Wha't your feeling now?

P.M. Well, I'm really giving an advance billing, through your questions, to my speech because I asked for the statistics that would give me the answer to that, because everyone reads public opinion and interprets them the way they want. But I read the surveys by Gallup, by I believe it's the Western Canada group, or published in the Edmonton Journal, the the Saskatoon papers, and

so on. And from month to month, I give several statistics, that answer is absolutely constant, We want a charter, we want patriation, we want our constitution, we want an amending formula, and we want a charter. And this is still true today. If you say, but do you like the way the federal government is doing it, without the consent of the provinces, then the support begins to gall off. And that, as I say in my speech, that is reasonable. People would prefer that their leaders agree amongst themselves. But if fifty-four years have demonstrated that on these basics we can't agree amongst ourselves, I suggest we must find some other way of giving the people what they say they want, and that's what we're attempting to do.

D.S. Has the attack on your proposals, particularly in the last week or so, been stronger and more sustained than you expected it might have been?

P.M. The attack is not on our proposals. Nobody gets up and says we don't want a charter, we don't want to patriate. People get up and attack the way in which we are doing it, without the consent of the provinces.

D.S. I grant you that. Has the attack on that been more sustained, stronger than you had anticipated that it might be? Are you suprised by the virulence of the Tories?

P.M. I don't think the attack is on that any longer. What is happening in the House of Commons for the past six days, well, beginning last week and going all through this week, is that we haven't been talking about the constitution, we haven't been talking about anything. There have been some, well, at the moment we are talking, there is already some, I think, fifty six to sixty points of order and points of priviledge raised by a hundred and eight tory members, and every one of them has been rejected by the Speaker as not being a point of priviledge or not being an acceptable point of order. So we're not even talking about the constitution, we're not attacking my procedure. We're literally hijacking parliament, we're saying parliament will not work. We, the opposition party, the conservative party, will prevent the government even from discussing this matter.

D.S. What do you think accounts for the Tory position, or attitude in that regard? You know there are some who suggest that the constitutional dilemma right now is as important to Joe Clark as it is to you but for totally different reasons, that he has to beat you on it to save his own skin.

5-5-5
Interview between Prime Minister Trudeau and Doug Small

P.M. Well, that is an explanation one can entertain. I think that having begun last October saying that they opposed this, they have to oppose it. And I guess the only suprise is that they are not opposing it with arguments. They are opposing it by talking about something else. And so why are they doing that?

D.S. But if it is a make or break situation for Joe Clark, you're never going to be able to get a deal. This is going to be fought every step of the way, right on through it.

P.M. Well, I think you're right on that, because for days, their opposition had been, "Well, what you're doing is not legal, let the court decide." And finally, I said okay, we will let the court decide. And now they're shifting on to something else. If the court decides in our favor, they're saying that still not the end of the argument because it's a political process. Well, that's what we've been saying since the beginning. it's a political process, let's take our resonsibility as politicians, and then let's let the court take their responsibility. And if what we have done is illegal, and that happens frequently that the courts decide that such a provincial law. . .well, it happened in Saskatchewan on the Potash legislation, for instance, that special tax, the courts decided that it was illegal. So, I mean, nobody broke down and cried. They said "well, we'll do it another way. And that's what we say. That's the proper function of elected members of the legislatures and parliament, to do what they think is right. And if the courts say it was ultravires with the constitution, then you try another way. But that is the proper process. Now, you're saying they will never change. I suppose their side and our side and the NDP are relying on public opinion. At some point, I suppose the public opinion will say, well, this is no longer a rational argument. The government has offered to have the thing judged in the courts. Let's get on with the debate. Let's the members of parliament, let them make up their minds, vote yes or no, and if what we are doing is not legal, let the people judge us. Let them throw us out at the next election and say, "Well, you know, you gave us what we wanted, but you gave it the wrong way. We will elect Mr. Clark, or whoever is leading the Tory party, to undo it. And that's my whole point. This is in the constitution, but the constitution has an amending formula. In other words, it's cast in stone, but it can also be changed. The next election can be fought on the issue of, "Well, you know, Trudeau and his gang got the constitution home with such and such an emending formula and such and such a thing written into the charter. You elect me, my party, let's

say the Conservatives, and we will have a constitutional amendment to get rid of that part of the charter, or to change the amending formula. And then the people would decide once again. Surely, that's our role in a democracy, to get the people to judge our acts. But to judge our acts, we must be able to act. And what the tories are now preventing and have been for more than a week, is to act. They think there shall be no action. The tory house leader, Mr. Baker, said we will waste the time of parliament. And this, I guess, getting back to your earlier question, is tantamount to saying well, I'm losing the battle so I'll drag the house down with me. If I can't win in parliament, I'll destroy parliament.

D.S. They may, in effect, be wanting to drag Trudeau down with them. In a way, there's always been this thing about how long will you last? And that still is a question now. Are you going to stick this thing out, if it takes another year or so?

P.M. Well, look Doug. I was elected a year ago. I got a majority. I said that I wouldn't want to stay more than a couple of years. But I'm not the type of person to go away just because people are fighting what I think they admit the people want. I'll stick around until I get it done.

D.S. One final question. The speech itself, and you've referred to it a couple of times. . .an epic speech, one of the longest you've ever made, closely reasoned. . .what did you hope that the speech would accomplish?

P.M. Well I guess I just hoped it would increase the level of understanding. We've got a point of view. By carrying the speech, as you will do, I think that point of view will be available to a great number of Canadians who maybe only hear about it through the newspapers or on thirty second clips on the news. And I've tried to put the reasoned arguments for our case. I don't expect that I will make manh people, well, a great many people change their minds. I hope I will make some. But I think more important that they say, well, there is a case for it. They are not, as they have been accused, particularly by certain premiers, they're not turning Canada into a republic. They're not destroying the federal system. They're finding a way to do what the people want. But you know, the answer to your question, I suppose, you can ask the people after they've watched this show.

D.S. Thanks, Prime Minister.

P.M. Thankyou.

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Government
Publications

PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 3, 1981

ENTREVUE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AVEC L'EQUIPE EDITORIALE DU NEW YORK TIMES, NEW YORK, LE 3 AVRIL 1981.

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Q: (Mr. Topping) I wonder if I could kick off our discussion by asking you really about what seems to be the most sensitive question at the moment and that is on the constitutional question and what is your feeling about what may be in prospect following the decision of the Newfoundland court?

A: Well, what is important really is determining now what kind of a Canada we want and I think that we are at a crossroads, that we are conceiving the kind of Canada which will go into the twenty-first century and I think it's important now that we make the right decisions and it's almost a Manichaeistic situation where some people say everything is black and white and we say everything is white and black. You know the lines are drawn very clearly and the stakes are whether Canada will be a strong united nation or a loose confederation of shopping centres to quote a wag talking about Los Angeles. The latter's a bit of an exaggeration but whether it will be a confederation where the power of the nation only exists on tolerance by the composing parts of the nation which we call provinces. Those are the issues and

they couldn't be more exciting and couldn't be more interesting and I don't know how they'll be decided, I would argue that at this stage, we are just preventing the decision from being taken against a strong country and not even deciding what will happen after that but I'm just attempting or we are attempting to at least keep both choices open in the thought that over the next generation, maybe the decade or two, our successors will decide what kind of a country they want to leave behind them. That's the way I see it and I think an observer of Canada can be inclined to agree that those are the stakes.

For those who don't know the issue even generally let me just say that what we are attempting to do now is give ourselves a constitution which, as you know, for the first hundred and fourteen years of our history has resided in Great Britain. We are trying to give ourselves a constitution with an amending formula and a charter of rights. We argue, of course, that this doesn't prejudge whether the country will eventually be very decentralized or very centralized. It just says that the decisions henceforth will be made in Canada but that they will be predicated on the reality of a Canadian citizenship with basic fundamental rights the same from one province to the other even though each province in a great rush

of autonomy may become very free enterprise or very socialist or very anti-federal or whatever it is. These choices are still to be made but we think that if they are going to be made in a country which is a country, there must be some common bond which is the constitution and the charter of rights. So that's the theoretical case that we're in and I find it very exciting and just to conclude the monologue I'm convinced that whether we, on the federal side win or lose this, we are fighting for the right cause - one of a strong nation. Just to illustrate the reality of the threat to the nation, in June when I first met the First Ministers of the provinces after the election, I put to them a charter which said the Canadian nation is, and I went on to express its basic characteristics, issued from the preamble and the fight started on that. How can you say the Canadian nation? There are many nations in Canada, there's not a nation. First it was the French and the English, then the east and the west (inaudible) if we can't say there is a nation, we've got a fight on our hands and we are going have it and that's what we're fighting so I guess that's the end of the preamble.

Q: One of the, if I may just ask one supplementary question - what observers in this country find rather surprising that as many as ten provinces are resisting - why so many, you would think that there

would be a more even division among the provinces on your proposals?

A: Well, I didn't answer your question on the Newfoundland court decision. I don't want you to think I've skipped it deliberately. We'll come back to it if somebody wants to know more about it but on this question, maybe there's a slight correction though it isn't statistically significant. It's not ten provinces against us. It's six who are against us in the courts; two others who are against us, but who don't think that they should support the appeal of the courts essentially because they were still hoping that there would be a further deal for them.

Two are four-square behind us; one of them being Ontario, and the other being New Brunswick. I guess why the others are not supporting us is, I'd almost have to spell out the regional or provincial self-interests which cause them not to support us. In a few words, if I can generalize, they all want a special deal. Newfoundland will give us a constitution and even a charter if we give them jurisdiction over the off-shore - it's as though Texas would say to the United States, we're no longer bound by the Bill of Rights on this, we have all the ore off our shores

and, you know, we don't want to share with the feds. Nova Scotia doesn't want to come along with us because they want jurisdiction over the fisheries which, once again you can see the parallel with whatever state you want. New Brunswick is with us. This may be a bit tedious you know, they've all got something. What Quebec wants, of course, is a statement in the constitution that self-determination of provinces is a constitutional right and any province can, by referendum, decide to be in the confederation. It's asking a lot for a country to say we write into the constitution the power of any state to break it up and so on. Alberta and Saskatchewan, particularly Saskatchewan which has a reputation of being led by a model premier, want nothing less than jurisdiction over international trade and we already gave them jurisdiction over inter-provincial trade. I had to walk on my heart to do that because trade and commerce is something basic to a country; it's free trade within the country.

It's not hard to answer your question why they oppose us, they all want to get something out of it.

They sense that we want to give the Canadian people a constitution and a charter of rights and they've been telling me for ten years, if you want to give that to the people you must pay us first with more provincial rights. And you know, after trying for exactly twelve years, I said, the hell with it, I'm going to do it without your permission which, of course, we argue we can do and that's what's before the courts now.

Q: Prime Minister, since the beginning of the week, you've made some considerable concessions, now you're willing to wait until the Supreme Court has ruled and whereas before you had talked about procrastination and not willing to put up with it and saying that this was a political matter not a legal matter, what made you change your mind since the beginning of week - was it the Newfoundland court decision?

A: Two things, the Newfoundland court decision and the decision of the Supreme Court to hear the case at the end of this month. I think the second event is even more important than the first. You make the distinction between the political process and the judicial. I still hold that constitution making is a political process and not a judicial one, I still hold that we must stay in the judicial process but if the courts, in the political process, want to interject themselves into the political process, either of their own will

or because they've been forced to by the provinces who have taken this political matter to the courts, that is for them to say but I am quite firm that I haven't changed my mind. I still think it's a political process and I'm determined to pursue it politically. And I feel so strongly about that, that I'm amazed that there hasn't been an uprising in the country, at least amongst the thinking people, the academics, those who know something about the division of powers, in support of our position. You know, if there's anything fundamental it's the separation of the judiciary from the legislative branches. In your country and our country and in every country since Montesquieu wrote his"Spirit of the Laws"and we're breaking it down, we have not only the opposition party but we have even the NDP party. I don't know how much of the editorial boards across Canada are saying Parliament should wait before it passes this law to see what the courts think about it. Now think of that we, two hundred and eighty some people, elected democratically across the country, have to ask permission of the courts in order to do something. Now it is absurd that the strength of our position isn't self-evident.

Now, mind you, I'm not saying that the courts shouldn't judge our laws. On the contrary, that's the way our system works. We make the laws and the court says whether they are intra-vires, or ultra vires. But we should make the laws and if every time we're going to a law we start to say well, we'll wait until the court says it's okay, then I think the system's broken down.

Q: Aren't you, in fact, (inaudible) lending yourself to this, haven't you, in fact, agreed to pass this on to the Supreme Court before Parliament votes?

A: No, all I've agreed to is that I wouldn't press it in Great Britain until it had gone through our Supreme Court. In other words I'm saying we must pass the resolution.

Q: You're still insisting on that?

A: Yes, we must pass the ...

Q: (inaudible)

A: We must pass the resolution then I made a concession because I repeat the courts have interjected themselves in the process and because the British have

have told us that it would get through easier in Britain if the courts blessed what we were doing so, you know, I'm realistic enough a politican if the courts had been only judging sometime next October/November, I'd say we can't wait, you know, it's over to Britain now and (inaudible) get on with it. But the courts, coming into the middle of the process with these two decisions and the Supreme Court saying they will hear the case now, makes me say okay, we must do our job, get it out of Parliament. What I will undertake to do is not press it through the United Kingdom. If they want to see what the courts in Canada say before taking the responsibility as parliamentarians, that's their decision but, you know, in a sense I'd rather lose the whole effort than to go on record as saying that that legislatures cannot legislate until they got permission from the Supreme Court. Now,

that was my position after the Newfoundland judgement. Broadbent made an offer that you might want to argue, well, when you accepted his offer weren't you departing a little bit from what you're saying Of course, you recall my answer to Broadbent was that I couldn't conceive of this being done. But if there were an all-party agreement of all parliamentarians, prepared to leave some, shall we say, final

formal stage until after, then I would be prepared to go along in order to break the impasse providing it was agreed and stated formally by all of us that this was not a precedent, that this was special case and so on. You know, if we accept the theory which is being put to us now, we won't be able to pass any legislation. Our gas legislation is before the courts now, it's been judged ultra vires by Alberta. The next thing will be some budgetary laws and you know, - the legislative arm breaks down. Anyhow, I'm sure that's, well it's more than theory, but it seems to me it is also theory and I can't understand that more Canadians don't see it.

Q: But, Prime Minister, how do you get out of this, what seems to be an absolute impasse in the House? (inaudible) think of something, you mention something like Parliamentary piracy -

A: Hijacking. Well, what I wanted to indicate is that this, people have been calling it a filibuster is not a filibuster. When you filibuster a bill you talk about the bill and, you know, you talk it out if you can. But when you even prevent people from talking about the subject and that's no longer a filibuster, you're literally capturing Parliament and preventing it from working. You ask me how we get out of it? I can't give you any tactical answer. I know the only way to get out of it would be for Parliament to begin dealing

with the business before it, so that we can hear the arguments pro and con and so that at some point at the end of a filibuster, if you want, there be a vote. But that's the way Parliament works and it will happen one of three ways. Either the parliamentarians will say enough is enough and they'll accept to return to the subject, or the Speaker will say enough is enough and she will say let's get on to the Orders of the Day and, you know, have your debates then, but let's get on to the Orders of the Day. Or the third thing that will happen is the public opinion will say well, you know, Parliament is not just talking but it's not actually working and might as well not be sitting and then public opinion will get all of us to change a bit.

Q: Mr. Prime Minster, do you think you getting enough support in Parliament on this. Do you think Parliament (inaudible) off in the corners or has it been that hard ..

A: No, you must remember that in our system I am part of Parliament. Our government is also Parliament. So I'm getting support of Parliament, I'm getting support certainly, of everybody in my party and everybody in the New Democratic Party, Both of us together, form I guess 65% of the votes in Canada. But I'm not getting support obviously from the official opposition, because that's their tactic,

It that sense, I don't think the issue is whether I'm getting support from Parliament The issue is, can Parliament be made to work and that will either have to come from ourselves or from public opinion or from the Speaker?

Q: Could I change the subject to your energy policy, please? From this perspective, it seems that you're fighting a two-pronged war, the Ottawa-provincial controversy and the Canadian-American, Canadian-foreign controversy. Have you modified your energy program since you presented it in any way, or how did you otherwise see the resolution of these two controversies?

A: Well, the second controversy is more than just a Canada-foreign, it's also Ottawa and provinces because we're displeasing not only some U.S. investors but we're also displeasing obviously, at least, the province of Alberta and probably a few more. But, yes we are fighting on two fronts.

I guess it's an accident of history that they come to a crux at the same time. I've been trying to solve the constitution issue for the past twelve years and, of course, Prime Ministers before me had been trying to solve it since 1927. It just so happens that they didn't manage and I didn't manage during the seventies so, at some point, I shall have to say enough is enough. The energy thing, of course, the timing of that was determined by OPEC

nations and that, too, built up to a crux. We, all through the seventies, I mean beginning in 73/74, we'd always managed to find some kind of a compromise. We didn't go to world prices but we went reasonably rapidly in the direction of them. We'd reach agreements that when OPEC stops going like that and goes like that, then the same compromises are made more difficult because the person who gives in is losing much more. I mean, you know, it's the paradox that when the stakes are high but not immense you can reach a compromise because if you're, you know, prepared to take a dollar and lose a dollar, but when you take a million and lose a million, losing a million is a lot of dough so it becomes much more difficult. So that's how they come together.

Q: Let me rephrase the first part regarding the provincial controversy on prices. Why have you chosen not to decontrol crude oil prices?

A: Because Canada doesn't have many natural advantages. We're a very large territory, small population which means a very large overhead per capita. We've got a country which is, climatically inhospitable. We've got very high costs in terms not only of (inaudible)houses and building roads and covering the long distances between centres of population. We don't have any sizeable captive market; I mean, we've some 22 or 23

million compared to your 230, or whatever it is, and Japan's 100 million, and the Common Market's 200 million plus. So, you know, we don't have too many natural advantages. We don't see other countries reluctant to use their natural economic advantages to their benefit whether it be the fact that you have a large home market or a common market or whether it be that you have advanced technology or low labour costs or whatever it is. We made the decision that this is one economic advantage that we could have over a lot of our competitors and we didn't see any reason why we'd give it up.

Q: On the second ...

A: I think you know enough not to be under / the illusion that we're not keeping prices abysmally low on frontier non-conventional oil. We probably have the highest price incentives of any nation on earth, but in terms of conventional oil, oil that has already been found and discovered, we're not proposing that it necessarily go to world prices but still it goes up very fast.

Q: If you would accept the (inaudible) long, that keeping prices below rural levels encourages a greater consumption than might otherwise occur. Why then are you discouraging foreign exploration of traditional oil in Canada?

A: I don't know about your premise. I think it is conventional wisdom to say that lower prices tend to increase consumption and I don't dispute it. I'm not sure it has been proven and I've looked a little bit into the economic data on it. You can argue that even with considerably higher prices, people don't put their automobiles away.

So what we have done actually -- rather than rely uniquely on higher prices we've relied on incentives. For instance, we have a lot of natural gas but we do have to import oil so we've got very weighty incentives get people to switch from oil to gas. We have incentives to switch to other forms of energy whether it be wood or electricity or what - and so on. So that's just for your premise. You say why are we discouraging foreign financed exploration but we're not discouraging it. What we are doing is encouraging it a little less than we are encouraging Canadian exploration.

I guess the answer to that could also be phrased in the form of a question; what would you do if 95% of your oil industry were controlled by foreigners and what would you do if 65% of your manufacturing industry were controlled by outsiders and what would you do if all the

(inaudible) that the multi-nationals pursue are done in their country and not in ours? You know, I'm not saying we're doing the only right thing or the perfect thing, but I'm saying you are dealing with a nation which has been extraordinarily hospitable to foreign investment and has extraordinarily benefited from it. You know, if Canada is a rich affluent nation, it's largely because we've had massive American investment and the technology that comes with the investment. So one is not trying to be xenophobic about that but we are doing something basically different than you did, earlier this century when the wars which impoverished your foreign investors and bond-holders, permitted you to buy them out. You just used their poverty stricken situation after the wars to sort of switch from foreign investment to American investment. We don't have the same historic situation and we're not doing it, I think, with the same determination. You know, we're selecting certain industries and that goes way before my time.

It was decided some twenty years ago that banking should be essentially, at least, dominated by Canadian capital. It doesn't mean that we don't have many foreign banks and our new banking legislation welcomes more. Same thing with the communications industry. I don't know, you know, at what point would the United States begin to be

worried if much of its press and media and so on were foreign dominated. I'm not making a holier than thou argument. I'm just saying that there's a political judgment to be made at some point and if you want a strong country, you'll have to be somewhat in control of your economic environment. "Somewhat", I'd put that modestly. And we've selected over the decades that that should apply to communications, to financial institutions and now to the energy industry. but I say "somewhat", you know, we're not expropriating anybody. We're just saying that in the future our tax incentives which have been very generous to everybody are now going to continue to be generous mainly to those corporations who have either fifty or seventy-five or eighty percent Canadian control or ownership. Still those that are below fifty, get some pretty generous tax incentives for exploration and development.

Q: Could I turn to foreign affairs for a moment.

Last week the Secretary of State mentioned a hit list of Soviet targets in Central America and that it cut off, at least temporarily, its aid to Nicaragua raises the pressure that the United States is putting on that country. Could we have your comments on the conception and the execution of foreign policy as regards Central America (inaudible).

A: Well, stated in abstract terms and then you'll bring me to concrete realities but in abstract terms I suppose, we would pretty well agree, you and we and many others, that Soviet penetration or not necessarily Soviet, because we should say perhaps just Marxist penetration, is generally more successful where the socio-economic conditions are abysmal, where civil liberties have been flouted, where extreme poverty exists permanently alongside extreme wealth and so on. And, therefore, our first task in foreign policy must be to make sure that this type of fertile ground gradually disappears in areas particularly which are strategically important to us, the Carribean, Central America, and so on. So that's our first priority. Then, going on to sort of face your situation because you are one of the two military poles of the world as we know it today, you also have to make some other decisions. And I think in our position what we have said is that we think the problem of Nicaragua and the present problem of Salvador, should be solved politically and that we should try and produce the political environment which would permit these socio-economic injustices to be corrected. And, in our terms, that has meant trying to support parties of the centre, and that is why we've rather comfortably condemned both the

extremists to the right and left whether it be the military rightists or the revolutionary leftists. So that is how we think it should be done, not I mean, it's comfortable for us to remain in that position and we don't export arms to areas of hostility and so on. Once that is stated then you are faced with concrete situations and you know I'm not bending over backwards to try and understand President Reagan but I can say, I suppose, to you what I've said to him and what I've said in the Canadian Parliament. The reality is that arms were flowing into Salvador and they were flowing in to the left

you know, to the insurrectionists and if our theory of trying to help the centre is correct, then we can't possibly be scandalized if somebody is supplying arms to the other side. You know, that's, so we condemn the supply of arms by both sides, we certainly don't take the view that had been pressed on us even in our own Parliament that we should condemn the United States supplying of arms and forget to condemn the other side whether it's Cuba or Vietnam.

Obviously the other side had been getting arms and the best would have been to stop them from getting arms

either voluntary by cutting off aid or by political pressure. In the worst situation, saying well, if you're going to supply arms they are going to make sure there's arms on the other side.

(inaudible)

We have in the Commonwealth the example of Zimbabwe which is, you know, the bone of contention for more than a decade and, every two years we discuss it with the Commonwealth Heads of Government and we always took the view that you know, the decision should ultimately be political. For a decade we tried to create the conditions where Zimbabwe could eventually have an election and the results of which would be recognized. That finally happened in spite of the great difficulties and we've got a regime there which is democratically elected and we think it is possible. If it is possible in what used to be Rhodesia, it should be possible in other circumstances.

Q: Prime Minister, as a Canadian and as a Liberal, what kind of marks do you give the new administration in Washington? We've heard down here below the border some of the past regrets about changing policy in Central America and the fishing treaty. Are you heartened by any particular developments

Q: in the course and perhaps what is seen as a new political majority in the United States?

A: Well, assuming it doesn't sound pretentious for me to be pretending to judge, a new administration and the course determined by the American electorate, you know, I can give you some impressions. Given the results of the elections I'm inclined to look at the good side of it and I see - I think I'm repeating banalities now - As one of the good sides, a renewed confidence in the spirit of America and a faith in your future and the belief that you can act with self-respect and so on. You know, it's all intangible but it seemed to me that is what happened after Tehran and after Vietnam, and after Watergate.

At some point the American people have said "enough" and "we want to assert our pride" and I think that's the way they expressed it, by choosing a new President. Whether that pride will be, that feeling will be vindicated or not, I guess the future will only tell but that's the way I see it. Looking at the actions of the new Administration at least as they concern us, I think we have every reason to be pleased with it. First of all, the President himself didn't strike us as a grandstander, I know it may be funny to say for a man whose profession used to be acting, but I like the way he sort of said, about the

Cancun Summit, well, we don't have to produce great results; let's go there and try and understand the problem. Well, I've talked to so many other leaders who said we're not going to go to Cancun unless we can produce results, you know, I can't possibly leave my country and go there for three days and come out with just a vague communique that we talked and sipped tequila for three days. But you know, I like that. Maybe because he's early in his term, some of the others are there, you know. At some point you have to produce results. But still it struck me as a good attitude to go into a meeting of people with such divergent views, and with such tough problems to solve. And he seems to have the same attitude towards the Ottawa summit. Now, that obviously has to translate itself both internationally and domestically with results at some point. But it's nice to meet somebody whose is not grim about it, you know, who is saying, well there are tough problems, "we'll solve them." I think you have an expression in English about being over-anxious. He doesn't give that feeling and their dealings with Canada bore that imprint. "Look we understand your concern with fisheries, with the boundary treaties, with acid rain, with the pipe line, with the Garrison diversion, and so on and we understand them and we're going to work to solve." What more can you ask; they've been there for two months, you know. Ask me in

a year whether I'm as sanguine about it and I might answer differently.But right now, but that's in bilateral relations, you know, I could wax eloquent I think on the list of grievances and our Consul General, Ken Taylor, can do even better. But you know, we're meeting an Administration that says, well, not only have we got to work to solve them theoretically but here is what we say:"they are a priority and we agree with you that the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement is vital and we will interpret our other statements to bear that out." Is that too general or would you like something more...

Q: I think, perhaps the feeling is that in the early months of this Administration, the concern has been with domestic business and with the, uhh, budget and that the foreign affairs have been left to the State Department and to

A General Haig and the talk of the Mid-East co-defense plans and these type of things and whether it is feeling that the White House in fact with a relatively inexperience from Washington point of view- if this Administration is preoccupied with domestic affairs and that Secretary Haig was directing foreign policy and, it was a question of perhaps, say a little tension or a feeling that the President and the White House staff should eventually get around to some of the global problems..

A: Is that question off the record? ... No, no, I'm joking. I don't know about the answer. If I had something substantial to say about the Bush-Haig

embroglio, I'd probably put it off the record but I honestly don't. You've made the statement. There's obviously some worry there but I don't know enough about it.

Q: What from the Canadian end was the evidence of the dissatisfaction evidently of the State Department's preparation of the President for his Canadian trip which played a role in domestic American relations subsequently. But from your perspective how did that evidence itself?

A: Well, to me it looked every bit like a new team taking over and beginning to decide how it's going to operate. Obviously there's some contradiction in an administration that begins by saying "well, we're going to diminish the importance of State at the centre and the White House" and suddenly they find that their advance men don't do their work, their briefings are not right, and then they make a decision to strengthen the White House. You know I guess that's pragmatism. There's an element of naivety in the President of a country of your size and your importance thinking that things will just happen if it's done out there in the periphery and, you know, any trip has to be advanced. You can't rely on other people to do it other than your own people and, I don't have many advance men but, I have, at least one or two who know if I'm going to be met and

if I've got a room in a hotel and it's as simple as that and the same thing for briefings, If you rely on a department or a host of departments, Fisheries, Interior, State Department, Defense, to brief the President and this much things to read, so, everybody, every Department thinks that it's briefing notes are the most important ones and that's all that's going to be discussed. So you can't in a republic the importance of yours, think that you're going to have a simple operation at the centre.

Q: Prime Minister, ..

I just got some last minute intelligence for you from the constitutional fronts.

A: Really?

Q: The eight provinces are going to meet in Ottawa, April 16, and presume , they say, to put the "finishing touches" on an alternative to your constitutional package. Does this create more difficulties for you? Will you be needing - would you make any attempt to meet them?

A: No, I wouldn't make any attempt to meet them. I'd want to see what they, what they meet for.

Q: "finishing touches" suggests that they're pretty close to an agreement, you've been saying all along that they can't agree on anything.

A: Well, they haven't been agreeing for 54 years and they certainly haven't been agreeing since the beginning of October when I said - we're going to go it alone so, - no I really can't be frightened by the wire issuing I don't know where from,-saying that they're going to agree next - two weeks from - Merry Christmas and that sort of thing.

Q: Could I go back to foreign, the ..

A: (Prime Minister) I shouldn't use the word frightened by the prospect but, shall we say pressed.

Q: The Reagan Administration has expressed and I think that I use the term, objectively expressed "alarm" about the intentions of the Soviet Union in much stronger terms than, for example, the Carter Administration. You've had a great deal of experience with the Soviet Union, China, Europe, more so than members of the Reagan Administration. What is your judgment? Do you think that the American alarm is being overstated or is there, a real basis for feeling that relations with the Soviet Union, are steadily worsening and that dangers from the Soviet Union are more acute then they were, say five year ago?

A: Well, I'd begin by saying that the world is in a less stable state then it was five and ten years

ago. For a long period after the Second World War, we were used to thinking that the use of war is something exceptional and to be condemned and universally abhored and, you know, gradually we've grown away from that and just in the past year we've you know, we've got wars all over the place,-Uganda, Tanzania, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia,-to say nothing of the civil wars, the Salvadors, the Angolas. So, in that sense, there's an up-side and down-side to the U.S. attitude. That they are indicating firmness of purpose, in a sense has the upside of clarifying the rules of the game much after, the Second World War agreements, Potsdam and the Crimea and Tehran, and so on where they sort of said: "well, you know this this is the line you don't step across." With the world becoming smaller and the series of incidents getting larger, I think that tends to be confused and diffused and nobody's quite sure what the rules of the game are and so you can have Russia in Cuba and going into Africa, and spreading and the Soviet Union going to Afghanistan and I think, there's an upside to sort of saying, see here, we want to know where this thing is going and the United States saying, "there are certain areas where we're going to be pretty strict."

The downside is that I think nobody would gain from a return to the cold war, and that the

United States least of all would have an interest in destroying the potential for detente which was existing in the mid-70's, and in which the current Soviet leadership has a vested interest because I can't see any scenario where the Brezhnev-Kosigyn, generation would be replaced by soft-liners, as it were. And if we establish now that detente can in no way work with the people who've been trying to make it work for perhaps ten years, then I think we're in for rough times ahead and, a return to the cold war with all that is dangerous in that for world peace and sanity. Again it's attempting to be a balanced judgment but I think it's good that the Soviet Union know that they have to face up to a determined Administration. But I would be frightened if they draw the conclusions that not only is it a determined Administration in terms of preventing a spread of the Soviet writ, but it's also determined in pushing them back vigorously and in seeking confrontation. If I may go back a little bit to my earlier answer, if the determination of your Administration is to see the conditions of revolution be eradicated, that's great. If that is joined with a kind of a warning that why we're doing that, you don't try and make things difficult for us, that's fine. But if the American people need to regain their pride at the expense of pushing the Soviet Union into a corner, that's not great at all.

Q: Mr. Prime Minister, if I may, what did the attempted assassination of the President do to your view of the resurgence of the American spirit as you spoke of it in connection with the election of the President. What thoughts do you have about why this sort of thing would have happened and implications it might have in Canada in fact as a neighbour of the States?

A: I don't have very deep thoughts on that. I guess there's something in the, almost in the American ethos, I mean it's so historically consistent, that violence is used in such situations, that I think you have to examine much more than just what a madman or an excessive personality doing, I, you know, we have to get into theology and morality

I'd ask questions about your gun laws but before asking even questions about your gun laws, I'd ask questions about violence on TV in the cinema, violence as an accepted outlet for the American machismo. I know, that's not very profound, is it, but Canadians can also be affected because the overflow of your culture, used in the broad sense into Canada, is of course, very pervasive, cinema, television, books, and so on. But, without trying to look smug, I suppose that's a good reason for us trying to preserve our identity.

Getting back to my favourite subject, you know,

we'll only preserve our identity if we have a very strong nation and not a series of weak ones which can much easily be culturally and economically dominated. I'd even make the argument that it's in your interest that we have a strong nation there rather than a Central American type of geography where troublemakers can, fish in troubled waters. And that applies not only to our constitutional Fight but it applies to the question of energy. You know, I think the test you should be asking in judging our energy policy is, will it make Canada stronger or weaker over the long..medium-long run? If it fails, will it make Canada more . of a febrile or- uncertain country. But back to your question, I don't know where you start. It's a giant civilization here and it just moves forward like a juggernaut and that's the admirable quality of it, and also that's the unmanagable quality of it. Maybe if we start, from what I said, and from what you asked - a sense of pride, . maybe different values have to be put to the fore-that's why I say we get into theology and morality and so on.

Q: (inaudible) in its most fundamental aspect the relations between the federal and provincial governments?

A: It has worked reasonably well over the decades. There's been swings in history with more or less the same constitution. We had long periods

of centralization, as in the two world wars, followed by long periods of de-centralization, That's the beauty of our system and I suppose yours that it can adjust pragmatically to realities and, therefore, I don't condemn the system. All I'm saying is that if history is going to work towards the preservation of our nation, at some point somebody has to say it's swung far enough in one direction, you know, this is what happened in your country, I suppose, in your civil war, this is what happened almost, well, three quarters of a century before that when you found out that confederation didn't work and you needed the federalist papers and so on. So, no, I think our systems work reasonably well. The only thing that is happening now is that it's swung far enough and you know the Canadian situation but I can remind you of the statistics. In 1959 the federal government was spending 52% of the public budgets and the provinces and municipalities 48. Twenty years later in 79 the provinces and municipalities were spending 66 and the federal government's spending 33, (inaudible) fast swing towards de-centralization. I personally got into politics in 1965 because I felt then that it had gone too far with the Quebec "quiet revolution" and the new pride in living in modern provinces and discovering our vast mineral wealths at high prices in many of the provinces. You know, the provincial

governments and feeling has gone a long way and, in the forties and fifties I was a provincialist. You know, I thought that we had to swing in that direction after the excessive centralization of the Second World War and, and getting out of the depression. But now I feel, you know I felt the contrary and, and I'm fighting for that and you know, I've rarely been as certain that I am right, and every Gallup shows that and that's what we won the last election on, We were not going to recognize that Canada was a "community of communities" as the leader of the opposition put it then and puts it now, but Canada was one nation.

Q: Wasn't that your main campaign issue in the campaign that you lost in 79?

A: It was. And you'll recall that everybody and his brother, but mainly the editorialists, were saying that unity wasn't an issue. "Trudeau and the Liberals were trying to make unity an issue because they didn't want to discuss the economy"- but we have a strong Canada. I think now the reason why people haven't got turned off on the constitution but why the fight is so universally followed is because they've now realized that unity was an issue. Since then they have had a referendum which could have gone the other way and they have separatist movements in the west which say "let's

break up the country" -so I was just a little ahead of my time and I lost an election.

Q: Sir, would you consider the constitution and energy, and the energy conflicts essentially the same?

A: Yes. Two facets of the same problem. Does anybody speak for Canada? Well, that sounds a bit presumptuous but, who speaks for Canada? Is there to be a Canadian voice or is Canada to be, to quote the Premier of Newfoundland to "be merely the agent of the provinces." And as some of the judges who went against us, seem to argue too that Canada is the result of a pact between the provinces.

Q: (Mr. Topping) Coming to the close of our allotted time so I'm going to ask that we restrict ourselves to one more question before all these people rush off. (Prime Minister) The last question must be very important so whose going to ..

Q: Well, let me exercise a prerogative here and ask the last question. One of the things that has earned Canada and yourself a great deal of prestige has been your involvement in the Third World, all out of proportion often, to the population of your country and, now it seems to me that the so-called dialogue between the North and the South has just about disappeared, one doesn't hear very much about it now ..

(Prime Minister) In Canada, or ...

Q: Generally, in the world, what does this portend for you, not for you as Canadians but portend for all of us?

A: Well, I guess, just a short hiatus, a breathing spell, because I don't think it's hard to predict that we're going to be hearing a lot more of it. There will be the Cancun Summit. There will be, an important place on the agenda at Ottawa for North-South. There will be the Commonwealth conference in Melbourne where we going to talk a great deal about that. Then of course, most of all, there will be the global negotiations which will have to begin again so, I don't think the silence means that people have lost interest or even lost hope. I think that it is, I say more of a breathing spell. I believe profoundly that the problem has to be solved and progress made elsewhere, We will have the social and political upheavals and there will be those regimes who will make, great progress in the third world against our way of life, our market societies and our democracies. You know, I think we're being tested now, all of us. The third world is asking. The third world too is a macrocosm. But many of the countries there are sort of at the edge of the stage asking which way they'll go, and what kind of regimes will serve their peoples more-

either to get out of the abysmal human rights conditions or abysmal economic and social conditions and so on. If we can't show moral and economic leadership and political leadership in instances like Afghanistan, Poland, and so on, then we lose the competition and we see more and more nations going the other way. I think, that much like the Marshall Plan was not completely altruistic, I think our concern with solving some of the north-south inequities are, don't have to be, necessarily motivated by Christian charity, or any form of charity,-there's a lot of self-interest in it- And, more important, there's a conception of justice, which is an honourable one. But, you know, there again, that's theory. And in all the politics of it, how do we decide, to, draw the Eastern Bloc into this and do we want them to give more too, or do we rather not give because when they give it's mostly arms and, not food, and there's all the politics of it. Admittedly even the economics are not simple, because it is not immediately demonstrable as the Marshall Plan was. That it will be necessairly successful - a lot of it is - not money thrown away, but money which will not be porductive except to save lives of people who will make more children and so. But I do not think I have a simplistic view of

the solutions but I think the morality and the political realities are sufficiently clear that I argue that we have no choice but to make progress.

Well, sir, thank you very much.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE RAILWAY COMMITTEE ROOM, HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, JUNE 12, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE DANS LA SALLE DES CHEMINS DE FER, CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES, OTTAWA, LE 12 JUIN 1981

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HENRY GINIGER (New York Times): Prime Minister, on Wednesday, in answer to a question from John Crosbie, you remarked that several countries -- I believe you mentioned West Germany, France, Italy and Japan -- have been complaining bitterly about the interest rate policy in the United States. I am wondering whether Canada has also had occasion to lodge a similar complaint with the United States, and secondly, whether you anticipate that this could be a major problem dividing the western countries at the Summit Conference next month.

A. I can't remember using the words "complaining bitterly." You will recall that Mr. Crosbie was explaining the high interest rates in Canada by a simple failure in Canadian government economic effectiveness, and I said, "Surely it must be linked to something more general than that since these other countries were having the same high interest rates without having the difficulties in energy policy that Mr. Crosbie was blaming for our high interest rates.

You will recall his argument was: "If you would only settle the energy problem with Alberta, we wouldn't have

these high interest rates." And I pointed out that several other countries didn't have that kind of energy debate within their countries and they had high interest rates which caused devaluations of their currencies.

I think I was stating a matter of fact. It's rather well known that some leaders have complained bitterly to the United States about the effect of the U.S. monetary policy on their currencies.

You asked me if Canada has lodged such a complaint. I don't think we have. You've heard Mr. MacEachen several times in the House disagree with the character, particularly the oscillatory character of U.S. interest rates over the past year as they go up and down, and there has been a complaint and a tendency on our part to say that some of the cause of our high interest rates come from the United States.

Now, that is a roundabout way of saying that we haven't lodged a formal complaint, but we find something unsatisfactory with the U.S. management of their monetary policy.

Will this be a subject of debate in July at the Summit? Of course it will. We, every year -- the Summits are essentially economic summits, though we tend to discuss more and more political questions. But we will obviously be talking of monetary policies, of exchange rates, of macro-economic policies generally, recycling of petro dollars, and so on. So, that certainly will be discussed.

MICHEL GUENARD (TVA): Monsieur le Premier ministre, depuis un certain temps l'ex-Solliciteur général du Canada, monsieur Allan Lawrence, effleure la marguerite avec les secrets d'état, du moins ce qu'il a appris lorsqu'il siègeait au Cabinet. Deux exemples dont vous êtes certainement au courant: la Crise d'octobre, où il a accusé le gouvernement de ne pas dire toute la vérité et, dernièrement, il a fait une conférence de presse dans son comté, où il accusait le gouvernement aussi de camoufler certaines informations à l'effet que quatre ex-ambassadeurs canadiens s'étaient rendus coupables d'espionnage.

Ma question, monsieur le Premier ministre, c'est: quelle est la ligne de démarcation pour les membres du Conseil Privé quant aux secrets d'état? Est-ce qu'il y a des règles du jeu qu'il respecte ou qu'il ne respecte pas puisqu'il me semble que la presse a été quelque peu embarrassée par tout ça.

R. La règle du jeu formelle est celle qui a été établie par écrit lorsque monsieur St-Laurent a cédé le gouvernement à monsieur Diefenbaker. C'était contenu dans une correspondance échangée entre les deux Premiers ministres, et ensuite ça s'est répété quand monsieur Diefenbaker a cédé à monsieur Pearson, et moi à monsieur Clark et monsieur Clark à moi-même.

Alors la règle c'est que les documents confidentiels d'une autre administration que la sienne restent confidentiels jusqu'à ce que le gardien de ces documents décide de les rendre publics ou jusqu'à ce que l'échéance prévue par la loi et

la coutume, soit trente ans, ait été atteinte. C'est ça la règle.

Monsieur Lawrence, c'est vrai, fait allusion à des connaissances qu'il aurait sensément acquises pendant qu'il était Solliciteur général, à propos d'événements antérieurs à son régime. Les quelques fois qu'il a soulevé ça en Chambre, je l'ai prié de ne pas dire de demi-vérités. S'il avait des faits vraiment scandaleux qui devaient être rendus publics, pourquoi ne le faisait-il pas carrément, publiquement s'il le voulait, ou en les soulevant privément avec son vis-à-vis, le Solliciteur général, en lui disant: j'ai ces informations que j'ai acquises, il me semble qu'il y a matière à scandale. Voulez-vous faire enquête? Et si vous ne faites pas enquête, je vais les rendre publics.

Enfin, il y a toutes sortes de voies qu'un gentleman peut suivre. Mais la voie des insinuations et des prétendus scandales qu'on révèle publiquement sans jamais pouvoir en donner la preuve, ne me paraît pas la marque, ni d'un bon parlementaire ni d'un gentleman.

Q. Une supplémentaire, monsieur le Premier ministre. Dans le cas des quatre ex-ambassadeurs, les accusations de monsieur Lawrence à l'endroit de votre gouvernement sont à l'effet que vous camoufliez des informations. Vous n'avez pas répondu à ces accusations, est-ce que c'est parce que vous les considérez comme farfelues ou parce qu'elles n'ont pas été fai-

tes dans un cadre précis à la Chambre des communes?

R. Je n'y ai pas répondu. Je ne crois pas que la question m'ait été adressée. Mais j'ai souvenance que monsieur MacGuigan, sauf erreur - amoins que ce ne soit monsieur Kaplan - aie dit que la question avait été étudiée par le ministère des Affaires extérieures ,et qu'il n'avait rien à dire.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de secrets d'état qui peuvent nuire aux relations internationales, je pense qu'il est reconnu, même dans le projet de loi sur les informations publiques, qu'on ne les révèle pas. Je vous dis franchement,quant à moi, je crois que le ministre, dans les deux noms qui ont été mentionnés - soient celui de monsieur Watkins et l'autre ambassadeur qui est mort en Egypte, Norman, - je crois que le ministre a déclaré carrément qu'il n'y avait aucune indication de culpabilité de ces deux gentlemen, de ces deux messieurs, de ces deux diplomates.

Monsieur Lawrence a fait allusion à deux autres noms, je ne connais pas lesquels ils sont. Et je ne sais pas pourquoi il ne les nomme pas, puisqu'il prétend avoir des données précises. Là encore, je pense que monsieur Rae avait raison de se lever en Chambre, il y a quelques jours, pour protester contre cette insinuation faite par monsieur Lawrence sur deux ambassadeurs, au nom inconnu, qui seraient coupables de quelques méfaits. Ce qui laisse planer le doute sur un tas d'anciens ambassadeurs à la retraite. Et monsieur Rae est parfaitement justifié de se plaindre de ça.

Alors, encore une fois, dans les deux noms connus, le gouvernement n'a pas révélé les détails précis, mais il a révélé qu'ayant fait enquête, il ne connaît aucune raison de penser qu'il y a eu un manquement au secret d'état de la part de ces ambassadeurs.

Est-ce que vous avez soulevé un autre cas? Les ambassadeurs et...

Q. C'était la Crise d'octobre, mais...

R. La Crise d'octobre, c'est la même chose. Sur ce sujet-là j'ai souvent dit à monsieur Lawrence: "eh bien, moi je vous délivre du secret. Si vous connaissez des choses qui devraient être rendues publiques, que le gouvernement a cachées pour essayer d'améliorer son image, rendez-les publiques, je vous en supplie. Faites des accusations." Il n'a jamais été capable d'en faire.

DENIS LABRECQUE (Télémédia): Monsieur le Premier minsitre, dans un discours que vous avez récemment prononcé à Frédéricton, vous avez indiqué que le Sénat ne jouait pas bien son rôle parce qu'il ne représentait pas suffisamment les intérêts des régions. Alors est-ce que la décision annoncée cette semaine par treize sénateurs est un pas dans la bonne direction et rejoint votre préoccupation?

R. Non, ça ne rejoint certainement pas ma préoccupation. Vous vous rappelez, dans mon discours à Frédéricton, comme d'ailleurs dans celui que j'ai fait à Winnipeg et comme dans de nombreuses autres occasions, j'ai rappelé que le but du Sénat, dans l'esprit des Pères de la Confédération, était de représenter les intérêts régionaux et que, de la façon que le Sénat a évolué, cela ne s'est pas passé.

Alors j'ai proposé des réformes. En 1969, j'ai proposé, par exemple, que la moitié des sénateurs soient nommés par les régions elles-mêmes. Dans le bill C-60, il y a trois ans, j'ai proposé une formule qui tiendrait compte du pourcentage donné aux différents partis, dans les différentes régions pour que le Sénat soit nommé sur cette base-là.

Ça, ce sont des réformes que j'estime qui méritent d'être étudiées. Malheureusement, le Sénat et beaucoup d'autres se sont opposés à cette sorte de réforme. Et je trouverais que les sénateurs en question, les dissidents dont vous parlez, seraient plus sérieux s'ils proposaient effectivement une façon de donner au Sénat ce rôle qui est donné à la seconde Chambre dans la plupart des fédérations, d'une manière ou d'une autre. En Australie et aux Etats-Unis c'est par voie électorale, mais ça peut être autre chose. Ça peut être une sorte de réforme comme je l'ai proposé dans le bill C-60.

Je ne pense pas que ça soit très sérieux pour des gens qui sont en désaccord avec, disons, ma personnalité ou un projet de loi en particulier, de prendre prétexte de cette soi-disante réforme pour se séparer du gouvernement. Ils ont parfaitement le droit de ne pas voter avec le gouvernement, c'est clair. Mais de faire semblant que c'est ça une réforme du Sénat, je trouve que ce n'est pas très sérieux.

Q. Est-ce que j'ai droit à une très courte supplémentaire? Est-ce qu'il est possible que ces sénateurs libéraux soient exclus du Caucus?

R. Je pense qu'ils ont indiqué eux-mêmes qu'ils entendaient continuer de siéger comme libéraux, si on m'informe bien. Alors s'ils continuent de siéger comme des libéraux, plutôt que de les exclure du Caucus, je serais tenté, quant à moi, de leur dire d'y venir de temps en temps pour qu'on puisse discuter avec eux.

Et c'est ça, au fond, ce que je leur reprochais à certains de ces bonshommes, Qu'ils aient des positions différentes de celles du gouvernement, c'est très bien. Ca arrive aussi à la Chambre des communes. Tout simplement, on va au caucus précisément pour essayer de résoudre ces différends et essayer d'ajuster le tir du gouvernement, de sorte qu'il aura l'appui du caucus. Mais il y a beaucoup de ces gens-là que je n'ai jamais vu de ma vie

au Caucus et qui prétendent être libéraux. Alors je ne veux pas les en exclure, je les enjoins, au contraire, d'y venir de temps en temps.

DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV): Prime Minister, the Liberal Policy convention that was held last week came out very strongly in favour of extending the kind of Canadianization we have seen in the NEP to the manufacturing sector. I am wondering if the government is planning some new moves in this respect and whether this is going to be a priority area at the Meach Lake discussions on Sunday?

A. Well, it is always a sensitive matter to comment on that kind of a recommendation which comes from policy-makers in the Party, who in the past have played a very important role. I think it is the same policy group, though with some different people, that wrote the policy for our last election campaign and then helped us write the policy in the Speech from the Throne.

I would say, basically, that I think their recommendations must be studied seriously, but I would go on and say that if I had been participating in the debate, I would have, I think, shown my own personal disagreement with that. I think it must be studied at a larger national conference of the Liberal Party, and certainly eventually studied in Caucus and in Cabinet. But, quite frankly -- and I haven't read the debates, nor do I know the exact terms of the recommendations -- but to think that this Canadian government would get more involved

in manufacturing and in some way buy into manufacturing is something which is not in my line of thinking, nor is it in the line of thinking of the present Cabinet.

We took action in the particular case of energy for very particular reasons; we took action in the past, or Mr. Pearson's government took action in the past in other areas for very particular reasons when we said that financial institutions essentially should be under Canadian control, the media, essentially -- the communications industry -- should be dominated by Canadian control. We are saying the same thing about energy now, but it would be a mistake to think that our government is in any way contemplating moving in that direction overall.

ANDREW SZENDE (Toronto Star): Prime Minister, do you favour a pay raise for Members of Parliament this year?

A. Well, the law that exists now--the short answer is "Yes." There is a pay raise provided for under the law. It is a maximum of seven per cent a year.

I would agree with Members of Parliament who say that because of that law, since -- is it 1976? -- when inflation has been consistently higher than seven per cent a year -- or is the law of '77? I am not quite sure of the exact year. But there is no doubt that Members' of Parliament pay, though it has

increased each year by seven per cent, has fallen way behind the average increase in the rest of the economic sector, and in that sense I believe that Members of Parliament are justified in asking that we implement, in part or in whole, the MacIsaac Report, which recommends a catch-up. I guess it is roughly calculated to catch up on the differential between that seven-per-cent ceiling which we imposed on ourselves and the real increase in the cost of living.

So, I favour it, yes; but I made it quite clear to my Caucus that I wouldn't be introducing any such law if the Opposition parties were going to spend their time blaming us for a pay increase, in the confidence and the assurance that they would then go on and draw that huge pay increase themselves -- which was the story of our last increase in the middle seventies when members of our caucus had negotiated with all of the other caucuses for a catch-up increase and the other caucuses said that they would support such an increase, but when we introduced it, they all denounced it as excessive, undeserved, unwarranted, and so on. The law passed in modified form, and of course they all drew their pay cheques. I made it quite clear this wouldn't happen again. I was not going to introduce a law that could be roundly criticized by all the Opposition parties, after which they would go on and say, "Well, this is my pay and thank you ---" They wouldn't even say, "Thank you very much;"

they would just say, "The govermment was terribly wrong in passing this increase, but it has a majority and therefore we will accept the increase."

Get my point? I think the Opposition does.

BRIAN SMITH (CFGO, CHCH): Prime Minister, the Consumer Price Index came out today and it shows, among other things, that gasoline for cars and trucks is up 33 per cent from last year; home heating fuel is up 45 per cent; and even natural gas, which your government is suggesting we convert to, is up around 27 per cent.

I am just wondering if you don't concede the point that the burden that this is putting on homeowners demands that your government provide some kind of assistance to them.

A. It is always the bad news which is the basis of a question. I think the good news is that the year-over-year increase in the cost of living has gone down since last month. So, you should have made your argument last month -- or this month if they had gone up. But it has gone down. It has fallen from 12.6 to 12.3. But maybe you only read the fine print.

Q. Well, with all due respect, I am talking about one sector of it, and that is the energy sector, and that is the area, perhaps, where homeowners need the assistance.

A. Yes, but homeowners are also consumers of food -- most of them, anyhow -- and the food bill has gone down.

PAUL PARK (Journal of Commerce): Prime Minister, yesterday the Economic Council released a report on regulation in Canada which urged the government to get heavily involved in de-regulation in the transportation and agricultural sectors. What effect do you think this will have on the government? Do you expect to proceed in that direction?

A. Well, those recommendations are not too different from the Task Force on Regulation and De-regulation that Mr. Jim Peterson chaired and which reported some months ago, and they are not too different from the direction that we indicated should be taken in one of our White Papers about three years ago.

I agree with the need for de-regulation in itself, and I agree with the need particularly to prevent overlapping regulations between federal, provincial and municipal authorities.

When I say I agree with de-regulation, I do not mean that all regulations can disappear. I am not converted to the kind of de-regulation that is prevalent in some of the parts of the Administration south of us. But certainly we have been acting in that direction. The Office of the Comptroller General was set up, in part, to act on de-regulation, and there

is a committee or a group of officials within the Treasury Board whose job it is to try and get rid of needless regulations and simplify those that exist.

So, in that sense, I agree with the overall thrust of the Economic Council's report, and we will continue to seek the implementation of it at our own level as much as we can, and in co-operation with the provinces through the various federal-provincial bodies which have been set up as a result of the First Ministers' Conference of a couple of years ago. There are consultations which go on -- I am not sure with what intensity -- in order to simplify some of this overlap.

STUART LANGFORD (CBC-TV): Mr. Prime Minister, I think Mr. Kirby's work must be paying off, because the leaks haven't been coming at all these days and some of us need some information on the Constitution, so I thought maybe I could go right to the source.

Can you give us some help with what will happen after a favourable court decision? In other words, there has been all kinds of talk about hopefully getting this package through Britain by July 1. It seems impossible to those of us who aren't in the know. Can you give us some idea of what you know now about the procedural and timetable possibilities in Britain -- assuming, say, you get a favourable court decision in the next week or week and a half?

A. I suppose a real explanation why there have been no leaks of such documents is that I don't think they've been written, for the simple reason that nobody knows -- and I don't know -- exactly what will happen, and how soon, in Great Britain.

I, many months ago, repeated the assurance received from the British Prime Minister that she would deal expeditiously with a document, a resolution which she received in proper form from the Canadian Parliament, but how long it would take is something that she never was able to make precise herself. I must say -- was it at the last press conference that I recall that -- that from last fall, the British government and its representatives were telling us that they would have to receive the resolution by January, February at the latest, if we expected it to be passed for the 1st of July.

You are asking me to repeat my last week's answer. I think I said historically they have always taken no more than a few days to pass it. So, I still hope that the Supreme Court will come out very soon with its decision, that it will be favourable, and that the British Parliament will act expeditiously on it. That is a hope. I have absolutely no certainty that it will happen. I am basing that hope, in the case of the court, on the fact that the court of itself decided to speed up the hearings, as you will recall, when they decided to hear the three cases together at the end of April. That was a decision

which, quite frankly, surprised me and caused me to reverse my whole strategy and say, "Well, if it is going to come that soon, we will wait until the decision comes out to send the document to Great Britain." But that was the end of April, and it has been a month and a half, and I imagine the word from the Supreme Court, as I read it -- because I haven't spoken to the Chief Justice or any of the other judges -- is that we can't expect a judgment for, what was it, a few more days or several days, or whatever the expression it was.

So, apparently they are still struggling with it. But once again, in the fact that they decided to hear it so soon, rather than stagger it out over May and June and say, "Expect it in the fall," I took that as an indication, which I think was probably clear in their intent, that they would come up with a decision before they adjourned for the summer.

In the case of Britain, once again, Mrs. Thatcher said she would deal expeditiously. She told me she would put the whips on, and I expect that will happen. But we all know enough about the imponderables of Opposition tactics that -- or of Upper Chambers. I imagine she will do her very best, but I can't guarantee that it will be here for the 1st of July. I am still hoping, and we are still contingency planning on that basis.

IAN McLEOD (CKO News Radio): Just one brief question on the rumblings from the Senate. You've got a group of people who say they don't like you and they don't like your policies, and they are not going to vote for you when it comes to the crunch. Why should they continue to be regarded as Liberals, and does their behaviour not create any political difficulty for you whatsoever?

A. What is the last question?

Q. Does their behaviour not create any political difficulty for you, or can you just sail along?

A. Well, I guess the answer to the last question is that their number doesn't seem to be such that they could prevent most of the Senators voting with the party. So, I do not see the political difficulties. If the incident can lead to true reform of the Senate, as I was answering, I think, one of the earlier questions -- perhaps in French -- then it is not a bad thing. But I think the Senators concerned have to make up their minds. If they think that the essence of Senate reform is not liking the personality of the person who happens to be Prime Minister at any given time and voting against a particular government measure, I don't think they have gone very far in their thinking.

DOUG LONG (CP): Prime Minister, do you see the recent changes in governments in France and Italy as possibly throwing off-stride the months of planning that have gone into the Summit at this point and possibly inhibiting the overall efficiency?

A. Well, it will certainly make for a more interesting Summit in the sense that it will be more unpredictable. Of the eight people around the table, there will be five who are completely new to the others, who haven't met at a Summit before. That's Mitterand and Suzuki, and the Italian Prime Minister, whoever he will be, and Mr. Reagan, and of course Gaston Thorn , the President of the Economic Community. So, five out of eight, or four out of seven, is a high proportion of people who have never met together before; to say it will be interesting, if I can use that understatement -- I think I should concede that it will probably be difficult, too, because, not especially the ideological lines, but the policy lines are well drawn and quite divergent in the case of some of us on monetary matters or on North-South attitudes, perhaps even on East-West attitudes. But I would venture to say that is all the more reason to have a Summit, and perhaps in a sense, Ottawa/ Montebello will be the first real Summit in the sense that, if I have any influence as the chairman, we won't be merely getting together to write a text on the need for conserving energy and increasing the consumption of coal while respecting the environment --

the kind of thing we did in Venice -- or making precise decisions on the conduct of monetary policy, as was done at other Summits; we will be getting down to much more basic subjects -- you know, how do you, Mr. President, or Mr. Prime Minister, or Madam Prime Minister, how do you see the evolution of East-West relations and what are your unstated major premises when we are dealing with the South? You know, is it charity? Is it self-help? Is it inevitable?

I think we will be getting together, as some of the leading managers of the so-called industrialized democracies, and we will have a responsibility -- well, we will have to choose. Either we paper over our differences, paper over the cracks, or we get down to some fundamentals and ask ourselves, regardless of our own economic policies in our various countries, is there a common thread which holds us together and, if so, how can we use that in consultation and in managing crises, which is the formula I have been using increasingly? There are various crises, whether it is Afghanistan or the Middle East, or tentatively Poland, or whether it is the looming crisis in North-South. How will we manage them? Do we want our ideologies to survive, meaning by that the democracies based on market societies? And therefore -- what was your question? I think it will be a difficult Summit, without any assurance of success, but I think it will perhaps be the most important Summit in terms of where the world should be going in the next years, and the most important Summit ever held.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRE-SUMMIT NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE THEATRE OF THE NATIONAL ARTS CENTRE, OTTAWA, JULY 15, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE PREALABLE AU SOMMET AU THEATRE DU CENTRE NATIONAL DES ARTS, OTTAWA, LE 15 JUILLET 1981

DAVID HALTON, CBC-TV News: Prime Minister, to start with, I was wondering if we could ask whether you have given up hope of the Ottawa Summit communiqué making any mention of the need for global negotiations after your visit to Washington and President Reagan's lack of commitment on that score.

A. I don't know if it will be mentioned or not. I haven't given up hope, to answer your question, but we will have to wait and see. I have no firm commitment.

Q. If I could rephrase the question slightly differently, you spoke several weeks ago about the need for the Ottawa Summit to give a positive signal to the Third World on the North-South dialogue. Do you think a positive signal is possible without a Summit communiqué mentioning, at least in some vague way, global negotiations -- which, for the Group of 77, is a sine qua non?

A. I can tell you that I have every confidence, though I have nobody's assurance -- but I have every confidence -- that we will be able to give many positive signals as regards North-South in that communiqué. There will be not an evasion of the subject, or a putting off of that subject until Cancun, which is a fear I had entertained at one point. But as to whether that specific buzz-word, if I can use that expression, is in there, I don't know.

MICHEL VASTEL (Le Devoir) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous vous souvenez qu'à Stockholm, l'an dernier, vous m'aviez dit: "Le prochain sommet au Canada devrait être un sommet très productif parce que les élections auront eu lieu au Japon, au Canada, en Allemagne, aux Etats-Unis et en France, en Grande-Bretagne aussi, où madame Margaret Thatcher est bien en selle."

Ma question est la suivante. Pensez-vous toujours la même chose compte tenu des changements politiques extrêmes survenus aux Etats-Unis et en France et compte tenu aussi de la situation politique intérieure à tout le moins difficile en Grande-Bretagne et ici même au Canada?

R. Eh bien, je dois dire honnêtement que ce ne sera pas le sommet que j'aurais essayé de prophétiser à ce moment-là. Je ne savais pas, et vous non plus, je suppose, qui seraient élus mais il était certain, et c'est le cas, que les élections auraient eu lieu dans ces pays que vous mentionnez et que, par conséquent, ce sera une nouvelle période avec ou sans les mêmes personnes, en l'occurrence, dans beaucoup de cas ce sont les mêmes personnes mais que, je réponds à votre question, un sommet productif, oui, ce sera un sommet productif, peut-être pas celui, encore une fois, que j'aurais envisagé à ce moment-là parce que les philosophies ont changé, notamment, en France et aux Etats-Unis.

Q. Est-ce que vous pouvez qualifier, juste en quelques mots, en quoi cette période sera nouvelle? Est-ce qu'elle sera plus facile ou plus difficile pour vous?

R. Pour nous, ce sera un sommet plus difficile, cela va sans dire, parce que les participants ne se sont jamais rencontrés en groupe, ensemble, et parce que les participants ont une philosophie politique, au moins dans deux cas importants, carrément opposée à celle qui était présente et représentée l'an dernier par les chefs d'état de ces pays-là.

Ce sera difficile parce que ces philosophies sont bien ancrées. J'oserais presque dire, dans certains cas, qu'elles prennent l'aspect de théologies, mais nous nous rencontrons précisément pour essayer de faire le point, de nous comprendre les uns les autres, et de tirer des conclusions qui devront démontrer que les démocraties indutrielles ne sont pas divisées, même si elles ont reçu de leur électorat des messages politiques contradictoires;

cela ne veut pas dire que les objectifs généraux ne seront pas acceptables à l'ensemble des pays présents et

je vois ma tâche comme président d'essayer de dégager ces objectifs-là, autrement dit, d'aller au-delà des différences théologiques et d'essayer de tirer des conclusions d'économie politique que nous pourrons tous accepter.

FRANCINE BASTIEN Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, ma question est double.

Je vous demanderais d'abord de dresser le bilan de ce qui, à votre avis, de ce que les sommets du passé ont accompli en termes de retombées concrètes pour les

pays participants et, sans vous faire répéter les réponses que vous venez de donner, à la lumière de ce bilan et compte tenu des divergences philosophiques que vous avez notées chez les collègues des six autres pays, est-ce que vous maintenez toujours que le sommet des sept, le sommet d'Ottawa,aura des retombées fort importantes, sinon les plus importantes qu'aient connues les sommets jusqu'à maintenant?

R. La dernière partie de votre question: des retombées plus importantes?

Q. Si vous maintenez toujours l'assertion que vous avez faite il y a quelque temps à l'effet que le sommet d'Ottawa est peut-être un des plus importants pour l'avenir des sept?

R. Pas nécessairement pour les retombées. C'est ce que j'avais saisi dans votre question. Mais j'y arrive dans une minute.

Ecoutez. Le bilan, vous ne voulez pas que je parle très longuement de cet événement échelonné sur sept années mais, en gros, le bilan positif, c'est que le phénomène d'interdépendance des états industrialisés, des démocraties industrialisées, ce phénomène qui était à l'origine même des sommets puisque la convocation à Rambouillet était pour essayer de résoudre un problème de macro-économie, notamment, dans le domaine de la politique monétaire et, notamment, entre la France et les Etats-Unis.

Chacun s'est rendu compte qu'on ne pouvait pas agir dans un vacuum, que ces politiques nationales avaient un impact sur les autres pays et qu'il

prendrait plus ou moins d'effet selon la réaction des autres pays.

Or, du côté positif, le fait que ces sommets se soient succédés et que chaque année on ait senti le besoin de se revoir, du côté positif c'est qu'effectivement cette interdépendance est reconnue par tous et que tous sont désireux de se rencontrer afin d'étudier l'impact des décisions nationales sur la situation collective. Ca, c'est positif. C'est pour cela qu'on se réunit essentiellement.

Sur des questions précises, et il y en a eu plusieurs au cours des années, je ne peux pas dire que l'impact soit aussi positif. Par exemple, certaine année on déclarait que tel pays devrait renflouer son budget de tant ou tel autre pays devrait limiter l'inflation à tel ou tel pourcentage, et caetera.

C'étaient des objectifs précis et je n'ai pas fait le compte, mais je pense que dans beaucoup de cas les espérances ont été déçues.

Je me souviens qu'à Puerto Rico, par exemple, au deuxième sommet, on se croyait au bord d'une relance économique, ayant déjà encaissé le premier coup des prix de l'OPEP, on se croyait au bord d'une relance économique qui n'a pas eu lieu et, d'année en année, on s'est aperçu que beaucoup de nos espérances, encore une fois, étaient déçues.

Alors, ce n'est pas une raison pour ne pas se rencontreret c'est peut-être une raison pour refaire des sommets ce que peut-être ils n'auraient jamais

dû cesser d'être, un lieu de rencontre de chefs de pays importants sur le plan économique et qui tentent entre eux de regarder le moyen et le long termes et tentent d'orienter généralement leur pays dans une direction souhaitable pour tous.

C'est vraiment ça, le sommet. Quand on y pense, ce n'est pas un lieu où en deux jours des chefs d'état et de gouvernements peuvent tirer une ligne précise sous un calcul économique et dire, bon, la croissance du produit national brut l'an prochain soit exactement de ça. On a tenté de le faire, je l'avoue, pas toujours avec succès, mais c'était peut-être partiellement une erreur de vouloir tirer là des conclusions très précises qui étaient plutôt du domaine des ministres des finances ou des techniciens des banques centrales.

Q. Alors, coup d'oeil vers l'avenir.

Est-ce que le sommet d'Ottawa maintenez-vous qu'il sera toujours important ou si vous le voyez plus menacé maintenant?

R. Non. Je le trouve important dans la suite de ce que je viens d'expliquer.

Ces retombées précises, je ne pense pas qu'elles seront tellement grandes, si vous pensez au court terme, mais pour le moyen et long termes, je pense que ces sommets ont été importants. Ils ont empêché la désunion, quand possible, et ils ont corrigé cette désunion

quand elle existait, comme après l'Afghanistan. Il s'est trouvé qu'à Venise on a refait une union très précise autour de l'invasion de l'Afghanistan. Dans ce sens-là, les retombées sont importantes et je crois que quand vous me citiez tout à l'heure, c'était dans le contexte d'une phrase où je disais que les participants sont nouveaux, les philosophies sont différentes, c'est peut-être le plus importants des sommets des sept qui auront eu lieu et, précisément à cause de ces différences et de ces personnages nouveaux, il faut faire un exprès pour se rencontrer, pour refaire l'accord qui, mon Dieu, se faisait un peu plus automatiquement dans le passé quand c'étaient des leaders qui s'étaient rencontrés déjà à deux ou trois reprises.

Maintenant, le sommet est plus important parce que plus nécessaire.

DENNIS BAXTER, CBC Radio: Prime Minister, I would like to follow on, if I may, from the first couple of answers you gave. If the Summit will give many positive signals -- and you expressed confidence in the Summit doing that -- to the South, could you tell us what your assessment, what your judgment of what those signals will be as a result of your meetings? I believe you have met just about everyone now -- except, perhaps, Mr. Spadolini. Could you tell us what those signals would be?

A. No, I can't really. I expressed the confidence rather -- I think I said the confidence -- rather than the information that. But in line with my two previous answers, I could say that even if there are not precise figures given or objectives spelled out in detail, I am confident, from the meetings that I have held, that we will see the Summiteers want to give that message of hope. In other words, I repeat my earlier answer. They will not say, "Look, we don't really want to take any position on the NOrth-South dialogue. We will be doing that in Cancun."

From the answers they have given to me, that will not be their position. They will want to indicate, in a clear way, that the North-South problem is one which they are determined to solve.

Now, that is almost a philosophical statement. I imagine, if it is made, there will,I hope,be more details to it than that; but it will not be of the, sort of, percentages of GNP, and that kind of thing.

Q. Do you think there will be an inclination to share in power? For example, if not the Energy Affiliate, something else?

A. I can only say I hope there will be. I wouldn't want to be saddled with a prediction. This is not a prophecy. I am just basing myself on the discussions I have had, and I am not pessimistic. That, I guess, is the most I could say.

JOHN FERGUSON, Canadian Press: Prime Minister you were asked last week whether you intended to express your feelings on the high interest rate policies of President Reagan at the Summit, and you expressed a middle-of-the-road position -- that you as Chairman wouldn't want to lambaste him but you would want to seek some assurances that interest rates were achieving what they were setting out to achieve.

Well, in light of the events in Britain in the last week or so -- the riots -- and considering that Britain has really been the first laboratory for these Friedman ideas of winding down the economy -- high unemployment, that sort of thing -- do you think that the mood of the Summit has been affected by the events in Britain? And I am wondering specifically whether your own views on this approach to solving inflation have been affected.

Q. I can't say that my own views have changed in recent weeks or months. Though I am not a professional economist, if I were, I wouldn't describe myself as a pure monetarist, and therefore governments that attempt to be so, I guess, wouldn't find me as their most ardent imitator. But I must point out that those who are monetarists or those who do follow certain macro-economic policies, do so for the same reason that maybe we would follow slightly different policies. In other words, whether it be Mrs. Thatcher or President Reagan, it is obvious

they are not going out to create unemployment. They are going out to create economic growth. And it is no secret that, in the past decade or so, none of us have found the sure secret to guaranteed economic growth -- except, perhaps, the Japanese. But Madam Thatcher, and maybe President Reagan, are trying some economic theories. We have tried others. The French and the Germans have tried yet again others, and the Japanese others again.

So, I guess each government, in its own country, has to make a political and economic decision as to what policies it will try to apply. But none of us is absolutely certain that they will produce the results. If anyone were, and if it were obvious, then we would all be doing the same thing. But there is no easy answer to stagflation. There are rigidities in our economies which don't permit the simple application of Keynesianism to bring answers.

But the point that I must repeat is that the events in Britain, I don't think, can be interpreted in an absolutely certain way to indicate that monetary policies are evil per se. I repeat, Madam Thatcher would probably prefer nothing more than to see jobs go up while inflation is going down. But she has managed to bring inflation down over the past year or so, but she hasn't managed to make jobs go up. We have done the contrary. In Canada, we've increased the job creation rate; we have lowered unemployment. But we have also increased inflation -- and we know that inflation is still the major enemy, because if we continue going into two-digit inflation, then we will soon be less competitive as a trading nation then we will lose jobs, and we will have both high inflation and high unemployment, which was the case in Britain over some periods of its history.

Q. I am wondering if you will say whether you think the risk is worth it. Possibly they are not setting out consciously to create unemployment, just as eradicating the fruit crop in California to eliminate a fly isn't designed to create hunger, but that may in fact be the result. Do you feel that the risks are worth it; that, whether or not they are setting out to create unemployment, that in fact is what is happening -- consciously trying to wind down the economy. Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Mitterrand are arguing very much on the other side of that equation, that the new emphasis should be on creating jobs. Do you think that their argument now will have more weight at the Summit?

A. Well, you may be correct about Mr. Mitterrand, but I don't recall Mr. Schmidt making that argument with all that much force. He has been very concerned with inflation, as indeed so have we. I don't know how you can realistically expect me to say: "If I were the British Prime Minister, I wouldn't do it this way". I can only say we are doing it the way we are doing it, and we are not all that successful with inflation. We are successful in assuring more rapid economic growth, faster than that predicted, and therefore creating more jobs and having less unemployment than that predicted.

I mean, if you want to subsume from that that if I were in Britain I would be applying the policies I am applying here, well you can; but I think each head of government has a tough enough job running his or her own country that I certainly don't propose to say how I would do it in some other country. I do feel entitled, as others do, to say that somebody else's economic policies are having a very negative effect on mine

that I would want them to know about it, but that would be because of the interdependence that I am talking about. It wouldn't be because I know better how to solve somebody else's problems -- which is a form of colonialism I wouldn't practise.

MIKE DOYLE, Winnipeg Free Press: Prime Minister, I wondered if in the meeting with Helmut Schmidt prior to the Summit there will be an element of wishing to harmonize views on international issues. In other words, will you be talking about more than the bilateral subjects that we know about now?

A. Well, I think the official part of the program will be much more on the bilaterals. It is, for one day at any rate, an official visit, where we will be trying to discuss the bilateral problems which have cropped up between us and try to improve our relations -- which are already very good. There may be some time to discuss the Summit at the official part of the meeting, but I wouldn't think that would take much, if any, time.

Now there is a day where the Chancellor is absolutely free and where we will be spending more or less some time together, much as I did in Bonn after the Bonn Summit, and I certainly if he is willing, I certainly would hope to spend some time picking his brains on this or that subject. But it is, in both of our minds -- and we confirmed this again in Bonn -- essentially a day of rest, when we will want to get away from our briefing books and think about more general objectives and strategies than to have any precise discussion.

Q. Just to clarify it, when you say "picking his brains," you wouldn't go that step further to talk about harmonizing actual views, or anything that could be seen as

ganging up, in effect, is what I am asking?

A. No. If that is what you meant, the answer is negative. If I can find any help from him in my role as Chairman, I won't reject it, but that is not the aim. It is almost a day to clear out all the briefing notes and to think things through for themselves, and perhaps talk a bit about them, though I am not even sure there will be much of that. I suppose we will be having a couple of meals together, but we won't necessarily talk about -- I would be very surprised if we talked about communiqués, or anything like that.

STUART LANGFORD, CBC-TV News: Prime Minister, I wonder if I could ask you a couple of questions in which I would ask you to compare the way you see things occurring at this conference in comparison to how perhaps other conferences have gone. The first one is an unpleasant subject but one which I think is in the back of many people's minds, and that is: do you think, in light of the assassination attempts on the Pope and Reagan, and if you can call that an attempt on the Queen -- I am not quite sure what you would characterize it as, but this seeming rise of violence again -- are you more worried this time around than you have been, not just because you are a host, but as an observer of these things, about possible violence at this conference?

A. No, I am not. I always let the Royal Canadian Mounted Police deal with those fears. They may be mopping their brows -- I don't even know -- but it is a problem I don't attempt to settle. I generally listen to their advice, and it has generally been good advice.

Q. Do you think they are more worried, or ---

A. I honestly don't know. I think they are taking every precaution they can. I assume every of the other leaders are taking more or less the same approach as I am. You can't go around worrying whether the sky is going to fall in on you.

Q. The second question is again a comparison one. Obviously the hope behind these conferences would be for each country to get outside its domestic problems and to try and take a more global view, to use that phrase, or probably a more world federalist view, and to look at problems in a broader perspective. But this year things seem to be terribly bad in certain countries -- the violence is very bad in Britain right now; the inflationary problems in North America; the perhaps political uncertainty of France, and one could go on. Are you a little afraid this time that perhaps it will be more difficult than it has been in past conferences for leaders to rise outside their domestic problems to take the global view?

A. I don't think so. Perhaps the answer with my second question in French was to the effect that we have really realized -- and if I must say so, I began saying that after the London Summit -- that, in the short run, we are not all that good at shaping our destinies -- you know, in terms of statistical measures of inflation, or growth or unemployment, and so on. All we can do is try to put the economic machine in the right direction and hope that all the economic decision-makers within and without the nation will co-operate to produce those results. But once again referring to my earlier question, I don't see the Summits as essentially for that purpose -- and I must say that I never did. If people want to put figures at the end of the line, okay; but we are not there for that. We are there to try to

understand where the devil the world is going, and are we managing it with the right perspectives over the long run, and are we in for a long period of rather slow growth, or will there be a return to the rapid growth following the Second World War, and if so -- well, first of all, is it desirable, and if so, how can it be managed, and what has institutionally jelled that has to be unjelled? This is the kind of discussion that I have always sought at these Summits and which have been, I think, generally successful. And that is why, at this Summit, there is going to be an even larger amount of time set aside over meals and relaxation where we can, not so much try to preach each other about our philosophies or our theologies, but to sort of say, "Well, here is the way I see things, and economic relations with the East. These are the dangers I see, and this is what seems to be wrong with the international monetary institutions". And, you know, not going into detail and saying, "We've got to solve this particular little problem".

You can't expect that to happen in a two-day meeting by people who are not really meeting for that purpose. At Venice the specific message I got, as the potential future chairman, was that we don't want to meet again as leaders in order to justify a communiqué that has been put together over months by officials with the spelling out of the specific objectives. It ended up that we were almost meeting and spending our time saying, "Well, can we agree with this particular phrase which binds us to this particular thing?". And that is why there had been no communiqué written until the very last days, and even then it is only in draft form.

And I repeat, there is no attempt to try and

nail down the details of any specific course of action, and to me that is what a summit should be. It is not a place where you draft resolutions and reach precise conclusions; it is a place where you try and develop a consensus, a way of thinking, a philosophy of governing which will be compatible with the others in the gang.

PETER TORDAY, Reuters: Prime Minister, despite efforts by yourself and others to soften the divergences between France and Germany on the one hand and the United States on the other on the issue of U.S. monetary policy, do you think it is possible that a clash on interest rates is avoidable, in public or in private, given that both the European countries have very recently said they will ask the U.S. for a cut,and the U.S., in its turn, has called for patience on the part of the others?

A. Well, I can only speculate on the answer to that, as I did to an earlier question. I wouldn't be prepared to guarantee that there won't be some clash in private, but I would be prepared to wager that there probably won't be any in public. That won't necessarily mean just papering over the cracks and not showing differences. It will mean that after the discussion is over and everything has been said and done, there will probably be a disposition to say, "Well, that's interesting. I didn't think that would work, but if you are convinced that it will, we will give you a little bit of time to show whether it does or not". But who knows? I have been wrong before.

GAYLE MORRIS, CFCF TV: Although Canada is the host country, Prime Minister, we are also a participant in this particular Summit. I was wondering what message we might

be bringing to the other nations as a country. Are we going to be able to find some kind of a mean between the extremes of fighting unemployment and fighting inflation? Will we have a particular point of view that we will put forward and try to influence and come out with something concrete?

A. Nothing new, if I could say, to a person like yourself, who is informed about what our monetary and fiscal policies are. Mr.MacEachen is not going to bring forth some new economic theory which would be the solution to all our ills. There is no new message, if I can disillusion you.

(French follows)

MICHEL GALAN (Agence France Presse) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, après le sommet, entre guillemets, des organisations syndicales des sept pays industriels hier et avant-hier à Ottawa, il semblerait que Monsieur Mitterand soit non seulement ici en tant que chef de l'état français mais aussi, semble-t-il, investi par tous ces syndicats du Japon, des Etats-Unis, du Canada, y compris d'Allemagne, et caetera, d'une mission qui est celle de combattre les politiques monétaristes, notamment, américaines.

Est-ce que vous croyez que vous, en tant que président, et il me semble me souvenir d'une expression, vous vouliez être le pont entre les Etats-Unis et l'URSS, est-ce que vous croyez que vous pourrez être le pont entre Monsieur Reagan et Monsieur Mitterand?

R. Eh bien, en tant que président de la discussion, j'essaierai peut-être de faire des liens entre l'un et l'autre mais je ne me propose pas d'inventer des théories nouvelles qui convainquent l'un ou l'autre qu'ils ont tort ou raison.

Je le répète, Monsieur Mitterand a des pensées fortes et connues sur la politique monétariste des Etats-Unis mais, sauf erreur, il ne les a pas encore discutées avec le président des Etats-Unis et vous pouvez être certain que le président des Etats-Unis a quelques pensées fermes aussi sur la politique économique du président Mitterand. Je ne pense pas qu'il ait eu l'occasion de les exprimer.

Alors, un des buts du sommet c'est qu'ils s'expriment l'un l'autre à partir de leur point de départ et, je le disais tout à l'heure, c'est un début. C'est un des buts du sommet que de permettre ces affrontements, si je peux dire, mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'aucun d'entre nous se sentira autorisé de dire aux autres comment ils devraient gouverner leur pays. Chacun pourra peut-être dire, si vous faites telle chose dans votre pays, voici les effets négatifs que ça peut avoir sur le mien, je voudrais que vous en teniez compte, s'il vous plaît.

Q. Est-ce que vous croyez que la position de ce fameux sommet syndical hier renforce en quelque sorte la position du président français et de ses positions anti-monétaristes par rapport à ses partenaires?

R. Ecoutez. On ne pouvait pas s'attendre à quelque chose de différent des leaders syndicaux. Ils sont naturellement, leur but, si je peux dire, dans la vie c'est de créer plus d'emplois et de s'assurer que ces emplois soient mieux rémunérés. Alors, ils sont parfaitement justifiés de leur point de vue de dire leur opposition à des politiques qui n'ont pas comme but premier et effet immédiat de créer des emplois mais, comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure, personne dans nos économies cherche à réduire le nombre d'ouvriers embaûchés.

J'ai discuté longuement avec les chefs syndicaux, je pense deux heures et quart à peu près,

et je peux vous dire et je pense que, modestement, ils le reconnaîtraient aussi, qu'ils n'ont pas trouvé eux non plus la solution au stagflation et ne peuvent nullement donner la garantie qu'on peut tout simplement créer des emplois en faisant marcher la machine à billets ou en empruntant et en augmentant les dettes.

Ce n'est pas si simple que ça. Si ça l'était, Monsieur Reagan aussi le ferait, mais ce n'est pas si simple que ça et nous en sommes les témoins, ici même au Canada, où nous avons réussi à créer des emplois et à augmenter la productivité, enfin, le produit national brut à un rythme inattendu il y a un an mais, la conséquence, c'est que nous avons créé une plus forte poussée inflationniste et, chacun sait qu'au Canada en particulier, les plaintes sur le taux élevé d'inflation et le taux élevé des intérêts sont encore plus fortes que les plaintes sur le chômage.

Sans doute que si nous nous étions attaqués plus spécifiquement à l'inflation les plaintes seraient moins fortes de ce côté-là mais elles seraient plus fortes du côté du chômage, et vraiment je dois le dire en toute vérité, les chefs syndicaux ne sont pas plus malins que les autres en ce qui concerne la solution à nos dilemmes économiques.

RICHARD GWYN, Toronto Star: Mr. Trudeau, have you or are you going to be proposing to the Summit partners some form or some system of crisis management or crisis response, as reported in a Japanese newspaper and about which you talked at some length in your own speech in the House of Commons, and if so, could you describe in general what it is you have in mind?

A. No. I will be certainly discussing the subject. I raised it at great length in Venice, and I had, even before going there, you may recall, in the House of Commons, even when I was Leader of the Opposition, complained, not particularly about our government, but complaining about governments in general, that they were caught completely off balance by the invasion of Afghanistan and by the hostage events in Tehran, and that not only had we not managed the crisis before it occurred, but once it occurred, we managed to show a very uncoordinated response to it. So, that has been a preoccupation of mine for the past few years, and I will certainly be re-expressing that concern and hoping that we will find ways of making sure that our response to any momentus events like the ones I just named will not be uncoordinated and demonstrate our disarray rather than the feelings of unity which these Summits are meant to convey. That I will say; but whether I will have any precise mechanism proposed or accepted, that I cannot say.

Q. Will you be proposing a precise mechanism, because ---

A. There are many ways of doing it. By way of example, you know, it could be done as it was done around Poland, with consultations in NATO, but with consultations taking place from the NATO base with countries that are not members of NATO.

Japan is one, Australia is another, that were almost brought in -- not to the NATO forum, but they were involved in some of the discussions that took place. Another would be for the Summits themselves to -- I am not going to make any precise proposal. I will probably try and bring a list of possible alternatives and see if any of them appeal to the Summiteers.

ROBERT LEWIS, Maclean's Magazine: Mr. Prime Minister, as you are aware, after your visit at the White House last week, a senior Administration official, who was in at some of the talks, told us in a briefing, and I quote: "There is no generally accepted definition of North-South or global negotiations", and he went on to say that "this is really a complex subject, and for some it is more a state of mind than a reality". I am wondering (a) are there any other Summit participants who share this same uncertainty; (b) is it fair to say that the Reagan administration doesn't grasp the issue, or they do and they are opposed; and (c) can you tell us what you told the President by way of reassurance and explanation about the North-South issue that you have been spending so much of your time on lately?

A. I don't want to answer with bravado, but you ask if anybody shared that point of view. I listened to the words perhaps not attentively enough, but there may be things I could say myself, and even in my speech in the House of Commons when I was talking of the North-South, I think I went out of my way to point out that there wasn't a North bloc and a South bloc. Even in the South, it is very heterogeneous. You know, in the South are the countries with the highest GNP and with the lowest GNP; there are countries with the highest rate of inflation and the lowest rate of inflation; there are countries with very high average

national revenue per capita and very low; some are developing and growing very fast; some are stagnating and falling backwards.

So, in a sense the person at the White House who said that -- something about it being the state of mind -- you could say he is right. The thing that keeps the South together is a state of mind, more than a precise definition. It is the state of mind of those people who say that "For too many decades, we have been getting the short end of the deals in the world economic order, and we believe that by hanging together, we will be able to improve our lot".

As I say, I don't want to necessarily agree with whatever the gentleman from the White House said, but there obviously is some truth in it. There is nothing precise about the North. North is what? -- it is the Group of 77 who happen to number 123, I think. There are some people in the South 77 who are -- they have called the Group of 77 -- some of them have higher standards of living than some members of the North; even some members of the OECD, I believe.

There is something of a state of mind there, and I think that is perhaps the strongest argument in favour of going the global negotiations route. They have decided that they don't want to see us settle energy, for instance, to get a good deal for ourselves if we don't at the same time discuss trade or developmental assistance, or reform of the monetary institutions which will be a good deal for them. And it is not an illogical position, but it is a bargaining stance.

Q. But you would mark President Reagan down as dubious, then, about this concept?

A. Dubious about what?

Q. About the concept of global negotiations.

A. Oh yes. I said earlier I have no guarantee that we would be able to put them in. President Reagan is, if I reckon him right, if I read him right, he wants to see a transfer of power and of wealth to the countries of the South. He just doesn't think the best way of doing it is going through the global negotiations.

PAUL LONGPRE (La Presse) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, ce matin à Ottawa les représentants de quatorze des principaux organismes non-gouvernementaux d'aide internationale ont fait valoir que vous deviez d'ici le sommet vous engager d'une manière ferme et précise à relever l'aide étrangère du Canada sans quoi vous n'auriez pas tellement de crédibilité à la table de Montebello.

Quelle réponse avez-vous à ça?

R. Eh bien, que ces gens semblent singulièrement mal informés puisque nous avons annoncé, je pense que c'était à l'automne dernier, que nous allions relever le pourcentage du GNP jusqu'à ,5 avant le milieu de la décennie et jusqu'à ,7 avant la fin de la décennie.

Alors, s'ils veulent encore en remettre plus que ça, nous ferons de notre mieux, mais s'il doit y avoir un signal donné par le gouvernement canadien dans le but de faire un effort particulier, malgré que les temps soient économiquement un peu durs pour le Canada, ce signal est déjà donné. Alors, qu'est-ce qu'ils veulent avoir?

Q. Dans l'esprit des gens qui étaient là, on a perçu cet engagement-là comme un énonçé de principes ou un engagement global. Vous avez accepté le rapport, par exemple, du groupe de travail parlementaire qui recommandait effectivement ça, entre autres choses, mais eux voient ça comme un engagement plutôt général ou vague et veulent un engagement ferme sur ces chiffres-là justement pour 1985 et 1990.

Est-ce à dire que vous les considérez vous-même comme un engagement ferme de votre part?

R. Dites-leur que mon engagement est ferme.

Regardez aussi les prévisions budgétaires. Vous verrez qu'il y a une progression très nette de cette année sur l'an passé. Regardez aussi la situation en 1968 alors que nous avions, je pense, ,2 quelque chose et maintenant c'est ,4 quelque chose du produit national brut, notre part de l'aide aux pays en voie de développement.

GILBERT BRINGUE (Radio-Canada) Q. Monsieur Trudeau, vous disiez tout à l'heure vous-même que Monsieur Reagan a des idées très particulières sur la façon de s'attaquer à l'inflation, qu'il les applique même.

Il y a, d'autre part, la plupart des participants à ce sommet, je pense notamment aux Européens, qui sont extrêmement préoccupés par ces politiques de l'administration Reagan.

Est-ce que vous ne risquez pas à ce sommet d'être confronté à une sorte de concensus de façon à aller dans une très large mesure les discussions à ce problème de l'inflation et, ce faisant, à reléguer au second plan ou à une dimension nettement mineure ces questions, ces discussions concernant le tiers-monde auxquelles, si je ne m'abuse, vous voudriez attacher une certaine importance vous-même?

R. Ce serait un danger et je tenterai, quant à moi, de l'éviter, précisément à la réunion de

dimanche soir où je tenterai d'établir l'ordre du jour, et je tenterai de m'assurer à ce moment-là que la discussion macro-économique prenne tel pourcentage de notre temps, que les questions relatives au tiers-monde prennent tel pourcentage, que les questions relatives au commerce, par exemple, occupent telle autre portion de nos rencontres.

Je ne sais pas si je réussirai mais le danger que vous signalez est réel. Si nous nous laissions emporter par le désir de discuter seulement la macro-économie, les deux jours pourraient y passer sans qu'on ait le temps de faire autre chose, et on pourrait dire la même chose du Nord-Sud et on pourrait dire la même chose du commerce et certainement aussi des discussions politiques qui seront périphériques mais que, si on les laissait faire, prendraient une large tranche du temps.

Alors, ce sera un de mes problèmes comme président du groupe d'essayer d'assurer à chacun que tel item à l'ordre du jour aura sa place et d'empêcher que tout le temps soit envahi par un autre sujet.

Je vous parlerai du succès ou de l'insuccès mardi soir.

Government Publications

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI, KENYA, ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE NAIROBI (KENYA), LE 11 AOUT 1981.

Q. (inaudible)

PM: This morning I pinpointed three areas where there would be a total of $40 million to be spent over the next five years in specific areas connected with this conference. But I pointed out that roughly 25% of our bilateral foreign aid is devoted to energy or energy-related projects. Now, a part of our multilateral foreign aid is also devoted to energy-related projects, but I can't be too precise about that because precisely they are multilateral. So, taking a rough estimate of something around a billion dollars being spent on foreign aid by Canada every year, a quarter of that is a quarter of a billion; multiply that by five and you get something like a billion and a quarter over the next five years. But if you're asking about how the specific $40 million will be spent, I refer you to my speech: $25 of it will be mainly in the Sahel area, to the least developed countries, fighting the problems of agriculture and energy shortage;$10 will be a grant to the International Development Research Centre, a Canadian government-supported institution, though directed by an international board of directors, and that will be for specific projects related to local types of energy production suited to rural and less developed countries. If you are asking how the $250 billion

a year will be spent, you know, I will have to refer you to the whole, total list of our CIDA projects here; in Kenya, for instance, there are two transmission lines for electricity: we have some 82 millions for electric transmission lines here in Kenya. All over the world we're helping build dams, we're helping build irrigation systems, we're helping build energy production devices or hydro-electric devices through CIDA, and this would really be a very detailed list, as I say, a quarter of a billion dollars every year.

Q: (inaudible)

PM: I'm not sure I understand the sense of your question. Here again, in my speech this morning I pointed out that much of the research and development being conducted now is in developed countries for the benefit of developed countries. But precisely one of the areas of expenditure that I announced this morning would be to encourage that research and even to subsidize it so that what is being developed for the purpose of production of energy by non-conventional means in Canada, shall we say through biomass or solar energy, that that research, which is made in Canada by Canadians very often by private enterprises, be subsidized so that their findings can useful to the Third World. Does that answer your question?

Q: (inaudible)

PM: This particular commitment, or all foreign aid?

Q: (inaudible)

PM: I think it is a combination of self-interest and willingness to help others. There's no doubt that, for instance,

when Canada seeks self-reliance in petroleum sources of energy, it is helping itself but it is also leaving more petroleum available for the rest of the world.

Q. (Jacques Rivard - Radio-Canada) Monsieur Trudeau, les Etats-Unis, comme d'autres pays, n'ont pas de représentants ministériels ici. Les Etats-Unis semblent ne pas être très pressés, en tout cas, après le Sommet d'Ottawa, d'y aller au niveau de la renégociation globale. Que pensez-vous de cette absence des Etats-Unis?

R. Dans beaucoup de domaines, on peut expliquer l'absence ou le non-engagement des Etats-Unis par le fait que c'est une nouvelle administration qui arrive avec une philosophie tout à fait nouvelle de l'action politique, et qui prend un certain nombre de mois pour en arriver à des décisions dans toutes sortes de domaines. L'exemple de l'énergie renouvelable en est un, leur position sur les négociations globales est un autre exemple, leur position sur le droit de la mer est un troisième exemple. Il faut prendre les choses comme elles sont: c'est que les Etats-Unis essaient de redéfinir leurs politiques dans tous ces domaines-là. Comme nous l'avons démontré à Ottawa au Sommet économique, il y a quand même moyen de les amener sur le chemin que nous considérons juste. Un autre exemple, c'est la filiale énergétique de la Banque mondiale. Le Canada depuis longtemps, tous les pays de la Communauté européenne depuis quelques mois, le Japon depuis un peu plus longtemps, nous avons tous par exemple indiqué notre appui à l'idée d'une filiale énergétique de la Banque mondiale. Les Etats-Unis n'en sont pas encore là; ça ne veut pas dire qu'ils n'y arriveront pas, ça veut dire que l'idée doit faire son chemin et on doit examiner avec eux, et dans les formes comme Ottawa, comme Cancun, comme éventuellement les Nations Unies, toutes ces alternatives-là. Je ne pense pas qu'il faille être défaitiste et présumer que les Etats-Unis ne voudront pas continuer d'aider le Tiers Monde, mais il faut attendre leur décision pour faire avancer certains projets particuliers.

Q. BRIAN KELLEHER (CBC RADIO):

Mr. Prime Minister, while you have said that the North-South process is self-evident (inaudible), nonetheless there are calls from Mr. Clark, Mr. Broadbent at home that more attention should be paid to the domestic economic situation, the dollar (inaudible) early return of Parliament next month. Do you see any need for that in view of the domestic economic situation, and do you feel that you will come under criticism for making money available for projects, say in Africa, but not to Canadians who are going brankrupt? Do you expect criticism along those lines?

PM: I don't think I'll have much criticism along those lines. The criticism will mainly be from those articulate voices who think that Canada should be doing more, not less, in its help of the Third World. I think anyone travelling to this country and hearing some of the discussions here has to realize that Canada is a very favoured nation indeed with all its economic and political and social woes; they are very small compared to those that many of the nations on this continent, for instance, have to face. And I should be very surprised if any thoughtful politician in Canada would suggest that our government should

not be pursuing the objective of attaining .7 of GNP in our official development aid. This doesn't mean that Mr. Clark isn't entitled to posture a bit; that's the role of opposition leaders.

Q: (inaudible)

PM: Are you suggesting that a humanitarian approach would be distinct from economic assistance?

Q: (inaudible)

PM: Well, it is true that human rights must be strenuously upheld and fought for; this is being done in various forums. There are human rights commissions in the United Nations; the Madrid Conference of those which adhered to the Helsinki final act spent a great deal of its time discussing problems of human rights. I don't personally think that they are exclusive; I don't think you can save a man or a woman's soul by taking it out and extracting it from its economic environment and from its material necessities, and I think one of the basic freedoms, as President Roosevelt said, is the freedom from want. And we're fighting for human rights when we're fighting for greater justice in the distribution of wealth between the world's peoples, That's a very humanitarian cause.

Q: Mr. Trudeau, after the Ottawa Summit you admitted that the product was thin gruel, the North-South dialogue that you have been promoting. Can you see anything since then, including this conference, that may thicken that gruel a bit, looking towards Cancun and beyond?

PM: No, that's a figure of speech. I just had an earlier question suggesting that politicians in Canada think that thin gruel is already too thick, and that instead of spending money

at this conference I should be spending it on healthy Canadians who are going bankrupt. So for these particular people and for that particular politician and this particular questioner, it's very thick gruel indeed. It depends from where you sit. My mother used to say: "You can never can tell from where you sit how the ice cream is going to taste."

Q: Do you see any amelioration since the end of July in Ottawa? Are there any more hopeful signs? Did this conference do anything?

PM: Yes, I think that the Cancun preliminary meeting of foreign ministers,which practically had rave reviews about the Ottawa Summit, and the Mexicans and everybody else and his brother or sister said that there had been enough progress made at the Ottawa Summit that they were able at Cancun to have a successful conference. That first of all it was decided that it should be held which was not a certain fact before the Cancun meeting of foreign ministers. It should be held; there was agreement on the procedure, on the participants, and on the general topics that would be discussed. So I think that is progress indeed. I think there is one odd note: Mr. Fidel Castro didn't think much had been achieved, but/you can't have everybody on your side, can you?

Q: (inaudible)

PM: Safeguards for what is it?

Q. (Inaudible)

PM: I suppose certainly a general concern for the environment and an empirical approach to each project. I don't think we would wilfully endorse or support a project which was environmentally ...

Q. (Inaudible)

PM: Well there is a mechanism. There is a minister responsible for the environment who has authority over the programs of all ministries,and who is entitled to set standards and demand guarantees that certain environmental concerns will be met. His action applies, I repeat, to every department including that of External Affairs. I do not think he has the actual staff to look at and explore every CIDA project, for instance, but if any concern is being expressed in a concrete way, he would be the man whose attention should be drawn to that particular area. He is not so much investigative as trying to give leadership, but he would also investigate if you or someone had any particular concern.

Q. BRIAN STEWART (CBC-TV)

I'll ask a question that you may now be tired of hearing this year. It relates a little bit to what Mr. Kelleher also asked / (inaudible) that you were just spending too much time on the road, that you have been away for many, many weeks this year and I think Mr. Clark wants a recall of Parliament because of the economic situation. (Inaudible) You should be spending more time back in Ottawa?

PM: Well, I think that if the question or the complaint were made that at some other time of the year I might have to justify the substance of that particular trip. But ever since I've been in Ottawa, the three first weeks of August are ministerial holidays and times for the senior bureaucrats also to rest. Three weeks a year - that's less than we've given the Post Office. I can hardly remember a year when a) that complaint wasn't made, and b) when I didn't have to interrupt my three weeks for some reason or another. The first year I was elected as Prime Minister was I think the invasion of

Czecoslovakia, a year after that it was the Nixon economics. Everything seems to happen in August. This time nothing is happening in August so Mr. Clark is summoning me home. I'd like to take my three weeks vacation, please. If I do a bit of work in relation to the Third World during that vacation, I don't think that's exaggerated, do you?

Q: (inaudible)

PM: I know Mr. Lalonde will talk about the tar sands in his speech on Thursday. The environmental impacts are considerable for tar sands. I have visited the project. It does mean moving a great deal of earth,and in the present state of the technology using a great deal of water, but coal mines have an environmental impact, so do hydro-electric dams, so do,I guess,the production of energy by bullocks. I think the important thing is that in exploiting these projects, we make sure that the environmental effects are minimized, and this is what is happening in the particular case /of the tar sands. What is doing in the projects that I have visited, what is happening is that they remove the top soil, they pile it up, they take the bituminous sands, they collect it, they extract the oil, they bring back the waste, they put it where it was, and then they put the top soil back on and they plant trees or grass. This adds to the expense, but this is a condition that the Alberta and Canadian governments properly demand be paid. The same thing with the use of

water. A great deal of water is used, but huge holding ponds have been created and the intent is release only water which has been purified back into the Peace River. But it is a real problem, and I don't know any countries where you don't meet it with, as I say, any form of energy. You go to Germany and you find very expensive and indeed, I think elating ways in which over the decades they have covered all the areas where there is coal mining and made grass grow and forests grow, and so on. I suppose it's the same in every country, hopefully.

Q. ROGER SMITH (CP): Mr. Trudeau, not wanting to detract from your efforts abroad, I would like to follow up on Brian Kelleher's question. How serious do you feel that the economic situation in Canada is now with record interest rates and the falling Canadian dollar, and do you feel that it's serious enough to warrant a recall of Parliament earlier than October 14, and an early Budget?

PM: Well, first of all we should look at the nature of the problem, then ask ourselves if the problem can be alleviated, or the solution of it can be hastened by the recalling of Parliament? And if the answer to the latter question is "yes", then obviously we would recall Parliament earlier. As I was saying in answer to a preceding question, it has happened several times

during my August vacation that I have had to recall Parliament: once to settle a postal strike; once to settle a rail strike; I think once to settle a dock strike, and so on. So there is nothing in my approach that would preclude me from recalling Parliament if I thought Parliament at this time could solve the problem of high interest rates and the falling dollar. But you know there are European Parliaments sitting all the time; the British Parliament I guess just adjourned; the German Parliament will be convening before ours; the British pound has fallen against the Canadian dollar by some 28%. The Canadian dollar has fallen against the American dollar by some 3.8%. The French Franc has fallen against the Canadian dollar by 25%. The German Deutchmark has fallen 19% -- I'm talking between January and August -- the Swiss Franc has fallen 15%. The Japanese Yen has fallen by 16%,against the American dollar all these are.

Q. So, you don't feel there is any ...

PM No, no, I'm just saying that having Parliament there does not prevent the high interest rates in the United States from having these devastating effects on the currencies of the world. It is never a consolation enough to say that we are doing better than all these other countries, but the fact is that we are.

And we are closer to the United States. Our trade with the United States is immensely more important than it is in any of these other countries I have named. We are the largest trading partner of the United States and still our dollar is fallen against the American dollar only by 3.8% in that seven-month period. Whereas all these other currencies have fallen in the area of 20% and more. And yet Parliament was there most of the time, and so was the Bundestag, and so was the British Parliament, and so was the French Assemblée Nationale, and so on. So what is this thinking that suddenly you get men and women together in the room and somehow the Americans will stop having a high interest rate?

Q. (inaudible)

PM Well, I'd be cautiously and guardedly optimistic. The good will seems to exist. The fact, after months of deliberation and agonizing over it, we made the decision in Cancun on the 5th and 6th of August to hold a meeting. So the intentions are there. The will of the participants to come to grips with some fundamental aspects of the North-South dialogue exist. But one has to recognize that the format is a difficult one. There will be some 22 or 23 heads of government or heads of state meeting for two days trying to tackle some of the toughest problems in

the international area that the world has ever faced, and I don't know about the others but I don't think we are miracle workers. And in two days, assuming we meet eight hours a day and that ten of us speak in one day and ten in the other, if anybody makes a speech of 48 minutes then we will only speak once. If we speak 24 minutes, we will speak twice. It's a difficult Summit. I'm really saying that mathematically if we go there to read speeches which have been prepared by our excellent advisors we will be reading things to each other and not trying to break the back of the problem. Therefore we will have to put, hopefully, that approach aside and enter into discussions rather than making speeches. And entering into discussions in the, what will it be, I suppose, some six or eight or ten languages which will be spoken in Cancun is a difficulty in itself. So I'm still guardedly optimistic. But I think it's an important exercise, it's a necessary exercise, but until it has been held I think it will be a hypothetical question. It is not beyond the limit of all conjecture what will come out of it but the song is the Siren's song and disguise Achilles assumed when he hid amongst them were not beyond the limits of all conjecture either. And I don't know what songs the Siren sang.

Q. (Inaudible)

PM Do I think what?

Q. I don't know. I remember a similar Summit we held in Jamaica in 1978 where there were seven or eight of us and where we decided to break the back of the problem which was then the problem of the common fund, and I think we succeeded. And then we went back home convinced that there was some answer, and then we influenced the various forums in which we acted. And so the process is a good one. You know, take the Commonwealth. After many meetings, it finally found some solution to the problem of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. It found a solution to the problem of supporting exchanges at Gleneagles in Scotland. Men and women of good will get together and providing they don't make speeches at each other, providing they discuss and argue and ask each other questions and pose each other problems, I think -- you know if you believe in democracy and in the rational processes of the human mind you have to assume that politicians too can make progress rationally when they meet if they are given the proper conditions and environment. We will see at Cancun if it's possible. The number seems a bit large but there had to be a fairly large number because everybody wanted to be invited.

Q. CLARK TODD (CTV) (inaudible)

PM No. The time frame of these particular projects is 5 years. It's not a once-and-for-all. I would guess that perhaps some of the projects would take more than 5 years. Others might take less and because we are marching towards the .7 of our GNP for our ODA then they will be renewed if they are useful and productive. But you know giving $10 million to the IDRC -- 5 years at $2 million a year, it can be spent quickly. But the way IDRC operates it will probably be spent very carefully and maybe not as fast as $10 million in 5 years. Because they will research a long time in a country to find out what particular type of energy research and energy apparatus would be suitable to that country -- whether it be a new kind of stove or a different use of firewood or a different technology for pumping water out of the wells. This is their approach. We just want them to feel that there is a lot of money there if they can continue their excellent work in the energy field that they have done in many other agricultural and rural type expenditures.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINSITER'S NEWS CONFERENCE HELD AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE, OTTAWA, LE 28 AOUT 1981.

BRIAN STEWART, CBC-TV: Mr. Prime Minister, as you know, the McDonald Commission concluded that in December of 1977 (sic) the RCMP high command did warn you that illegal things had been done for 20 years ---

A. December, 1977?

MR. STEWART: December, 1970. -- that illegal things had been done for roughly 20 years. Given that you may not have been told the specific criminal acts, and given that you may have thought those things were petty, isn't there grounds here for a possible charge, at least of negligence? You did direct that that problem would go before a committee, but it never did go before a committee. You did not pursue it further, and the question, surely, must be then: Had you pursued this further at the time, perhaps a virtual decade of RCMP wrongdoing might have been avoided.

A. The whole point is that the things that Mr. Starnes described as "illegal things" are not, in our view, illegal things, and they are not illegal things in the view of Justice Spence of the Supreme Court and of Mr. Wright, and they are not illegal things in the view of the Department of Justice. The very things that he was talking about are not illegal. So, that sort of disposes of your question.

He himself this morning, I am told, on Canada AM said what he meant by "illegal things". Some people think they are illegal; some don't. You will recall, in 1979, at a press conference I gave in Saskatoon, I said: "Is it illegal for a policeman to break the law by speeding to catch a criminal?" And I said I didn't think it was. But some people -- McDonald says it is illegal. He and I disagree on the law. But he also disagrees with a lot of people.

Q. Since you partially posed a question, if I could ask a quick supplementary ---

A. No, I didn't ask a question. I just made a point.

Q. He did, however, certainly imply in his testimony that he was very distressed about legal problems that the Force might have -- so distressed that he claims he later retired early from the Force because the government was not taking it seriously enough.

McDonald does not lay any charge of negligence on the part of the government, but do you not feel that at least it should have been pursued further?

A. Look, I feel McDonald had access to all of the documents he asked for. He came out and he cleared the government and Ministers of any wrongdoing or cover-up, and that is satisfactory for me.

DANIEL LESSARD (RADIO CANADA): Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, monsieur Starnes parlait, entre autres, d'un incident relié à l'Ambassade de France. La question que je voudrais vous poser/ est: depuis que vous êtes au pouvoir, est-ce qu'à un moment ou l'autre, votre gouvernement a eu des indications précises que la France avait joué un rôle quelconque de soutien vis-à-vis du mouvement nationaliste québécois?

R. Je ne sache pas que Starnes ait parlé de cela et, moi, personnellement, je n'ai pas l'intention d'en parler. Si vous/demandez s'il y a de l'espionnage qui se fait au Canada par différents pays, je vous dirai oui.Mais ne me demandez pas d'identifier des pays ou d'être précis. Lorsque nous décidons que quelqu'un joue un rôle d'espion et que nous pouvons l'identifier, généralement, on le désigne personna non grata et on lui demande de quitter le pays. A ma connaissance, on n'a jamais demandé à aucun fonctionnaire français,ou ambassadeurs ou membres de l'Ambassade,de quitter le pays,comme PNG.

Q. Donc, il n'y a eu aucune surveillance spéciale de la part de la GRC du Canada vis-à-vis de l'Ambassade de France?

R. Spéciale? Non, il n'y a eu aucune surveillance spéciale de personne. Mais de savoir si la Gendarmerie royale regarde à certaines ambassades, c'est probable qu'ils le font. Mais lesquelles, ce n'est pas mon problème de vous le dire, ni mon propos.

WAYNE BROWN, Standard Broadcast News:

Prime Minister, there has been considerable speculation about your perhaps shuffling your Cabinet soon. In view of Mr. Coutts' defeat in Spadina, do you plan a shuffle before the end of the year, and if so, how large might it be?

A. Well, this is more in temper with the usual summer questions about the shuffle and how large it will be and when will it take place, and I usually say that I am not making any shuffle these days, but I may make one in the not too distance future -- I don't know how big it will be -- but I haven't addressed my mind to it this day, these days.

CATHERINE BERGMAN (RADIO CANADA)Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, pour poursuivre la question de mon collègue, est-ce qu'à un moment donné, depuis, disons, une vingtaine d'années, vous ou votre administration avez eu l'impression que la France représentait un danger pour l'unité du Canada?

R. Ecoutez. La question est vraiment très difficile. Quand de Gaulle, du balcon, a dit "Vive le Québec libre", est-ce que ça présentait un danger pour l'unité du Canada? Vous en êtes autant juge que moi. Est-ce que c'était un danger, un grand danger, un petit danger, un danger moyen, chacun est libre de faire ses suppositions là-dessus.

Q. Permettez-moi, alors, de reposer ma question sous une autre forme.

Pouvez-vous confirmer la nouvelle qui est sortie hier soir selon laquelle votre administration a pensé, pendant la Crise d'octobre, qu'il y avait des agents provocateurs français au Québec?

R. Sûrement pas, je ne peux pas confirmer cette nouvelle.

Q. Pouvez-vous la démentir?

R. Répétez la question.

Q. Est-ce que pendant la Crise d'octobre...

R. Que les Français auraient eu des agents provocateurs? Non.

Q. Vous avez eu de bonnes raisons de penser qu'il y avait des agents provocateurs français au Québec?

R. Pendant la Crise d'octobre? Non.

Q. Et à d'autres moments? L'année d'avant?

R. Bien... L'année d'avant, non plus.

Q. L'année d'avant?

R. L'année avant ça? Je ne pense pas.

L'année d'après? Je ne me souviens pas.

L'année après ça? Je ne sais pas!

J'ai déjà ici,dans cette pièce,traité d'agent quasi secret un fonctionnaire français. Ça me m'étonnerait pas que la police fédérale m'ait entendu dire ça. Vous en aviez fait état dans le temps, vous les journalistes.

CHARLES LYNCH, Southam News Service: Sir, it is reported that you are going to curtail your plans for further travel in the Pacific in order to be here to meet criticism. Is this so, and if so, what are you going to do meet the criticism of your government about inaction in the face of the economic problems that we have?

A. Well, I don't know what has been reported, what is true is that the tentative plans I had for travelling on the way to and on the way back from the Commonwealth have been re-examined, and if there are some changes in the itinerary that we were thinking of -- we are advising certain countries that there are some changes in my original plans, but until we know that they have this knowledge, I do not want to be specific. But we will let you know as soon as the travel plans are final.

What will I do with the extra time? What I am telling these countries is that developments in Canada -- that includes the economy, it includes energy negotiations, and it includes the Supreme Court decision, if and when it comes -- prevent me from being away quite as long as I had planned to originally.

All these are things that I personally thought would have been solved way before now; therefore, I was planning to be away a bit longer than I will be in fact.

GILBERT LAVOIE(LA PRESSE) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, la Commission McDonald révèle que les informations recueillies par la GRC sur le gouvernement du Parti québécois ont été transmises à un cadre supérieur de la fonction publique fédérale.

Est-ce que vous avez des objections à nous faire savoir aujourd'hui, si c'est possible, ou à une prochaine conférence de presse, l'identité de ce fonctionnaire,et également,nous dire si les informations recueillies ont été transmises à des ministres du Cabinet ou à vous-même?

R. Autant que je sache, la surveillance de la Gendarmerie n'a pas été du Parti québécois en tant que tel mais de certains personnages qui se trouvaient être membres du Parti québécois.

Q. La Commission McDonald est très explicite là-dessus. Elle parlait bien de surveillance des gouvernements, par exemple, du Parti libéral de monsieur Bourassa et du gouvernement du Parti québécois.

R. C'est dans cette partie où ils disent qu'ils ont également surveillé notre propre gouvernement? Eh bien, moi, je leur ai toujours donné ordre de ne pas surveiller des partis politiques,en tant que tels, mais qu'ils pouvaient, évidemment -quand ils avaient des raisons de croire que quelqu'un pouvait être un danger à la

sécurité - qu'ils pouvaient le surveiller. Ils font ça avec des ministres fédéraux et sans doute qu'ils le font avec des ministres provinciaux. On est au courant qu'il y a eu des enquêtes sur des ministres fédéraux dans des questions, non pas de sécurité mais de criminalité possible, lesquels ministres éventuellement ont été complètement disculpés. Mais qu'ils aient surveillé des ministres québécois, c'est fort possible. Je sais qu'ils ont surveillé mes propres ministres.

Q. Ma question portait à savoir si vous aviez des objections aujourd'hui, ou à la prochaine conférence de presse, à nous faire connaître l'identité du cadre supérieur de la fonction publique à qui la GRC transmettait ces informations, et de nous faire savoir également si les ministres de votre Cabinet, ou vous-même, aviez été informés de ces renseignements recueillis par la GRC sur ces gourvernements?

R. Eh bien, absolument! Ce sont des opérations qui, ou bien elles résultent en des poursuites criminelles, ou elles ne résultent pas en poursuites criminelles. Si ce sont seulement des surveillances, encore une fois je vous le dis, qui sont faites à l'encontre de mes propres ministres et si ce n'est pas connu publiquement, je n'ai pas l'intention de les rendre publiques. S'ils avaient trouvé quelqu'un criminellement responsable de quelque chose, ce serait

devant les tribunaux. Alors, je n'ai pas l'intention de dévoiler des informations qu'on pourrait avoir à propos d'illégalités possibles mais qui, en fait, ne se sont pas avérées illégales.

DAVID HALTON, CBC-TV: Prime Minister, it's been quite a lot of time now since you talked of the general political outlook for the government, and I was wondering if you could tell us how you feel about the Liberal by-election losses this month -- whether they were an aberration or whether, as even many people in your Party feel, they were evidence of a sharply increased disenchantment of your and the government's handling of the economy?

A. Oh, I have no doubt in my mind that the weeks preceding the by-election were weeks which were very difficult economically for the government, for the Canadian people, and that the votes in that particular by-election should have expressed the concern Canadians had about inflation, the dollar, unemployment, and all of these other things is absolutely certain -- so far as one can be certain why people vote or abstain from voting.

Q. A quick supplementary, sir. Do you share the view of many people in your caucus that even if there are no specific solutions to the economic problems to be brought in right now, that it is very necessary for the government to show much more Canadians that they really care about the problems and the economy isn't drifting?

A. Well, I will hear from my caucus to that effect, or otherwise, when I meet them, I believe on the 15th of this month. I know I have always heard throughout my concern, you know, "Even if you can't do anything, pretend you can," or "You must show concern even if it's phony". That is not my style. I'm concerned. I don't show it by crying in

public. I think when I can take action, I take action, and certainly that is what our last budget did and what our future budget will probably do.

LUC LAVOIE (TVA) Q. Monsieur Trudeau, à la suite de la publication du Rapport McDonald, l'ancien chef des services de sécurité, John Starnes, a dit dans une entrevue qu'à au moins une occasion vous lui aviez donné l'autorisation explicite d'exécuter une opération illégale mais que vous lui aviez dit (INAUDIBLE) que si jamais il se faisait prendre, vous alliez démentir que vous étiez au courant de la chose.

Est-ce que vous pouvez confirmer ça? Est-ce que cela a quelque chose à voir avec l'Ambassade de France?

R. Non, je le nie absolument et je pense que vous vous êtes peut-être mépris en posant la question.

Autant qu'on m'informe, monsieur Starnes n'a jamais dit qu'il m'avait demandé l'autorisation de faire une opération illégale. Au contraire, il a été très explicite qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une opération illégale, qu'il s'agissait d'une opération ayant trait à la sécurité mais qui était parfaitement légale.

Est-ce que vous voulez reposer votre question dans ce sens-là ou est-ce que...?

Q. Est-ce que cela avait quelque chose à voir avec l'Ambassade de France, cette opération dont Starnes parlait et qui semblait le rendre un peu nerveux?

R. C'est vraiment une question qui a trait à la sécurité et aux relations internationales, et je n'ai pas l'intention de dire de quoi il m'a parlé.

JOHN FERGUSON, Canadian Press: Prime Minister, in explaining what the government did or did not know about what Mr. Starnes was referring to when he used the phrase "illegal things", the McDonald Commission has referred to a number of things, and Mr. Kaplan has as well, and I think you in your earlier remarks today did the same, and they are listed in paragraph 71 of page 72 of the Third Report, and they include a number of the things you've mentioned, like speeding and traffic tickets, this sort of thing -- but they also include the second point:

> "The fact that an undercover agent might be put in the position of having to break some law in order to establish his bona fides with an organization."

Do you believe that that sort of thing would be legal?

A. Well, if "breaking some law" is used in the same sense as Mr. Starnes says "illegal things", it comes under the difference of opinions in law that Mr. Justice Spence has as opposed to Justice McDonald -- and Starnes makes it quite clear in his testimony that when he talks about breaking the law to establish bona fides, he is talking about using false identities. He makes that quite clear. So, false identities is precisely the question which is before the court of public opinion. You know, is it a criminal act to use a false identity to catch a criminal? Justice Spence says no; Justice McDonald says yes.

Q. If that is the case, if you believe that establishing a false identity is included in that

description, why would it be listed separately in this list? I think they are in fact referring to something beyond that.

A. You think that, but Starnes is explicit that this ---

Q. Well, it is explicit, sir ---

A. -- that this is what he is thinking about.

Q. It is listed here as a separate item in the list of what Mr. Starnes ---

A. I know.

Q. So, you are saying he is repeating himself. If you had asked -- do you believe that if you had asked what he meant by "breaking some law to establish bona fides", are you convinced that all he would have said was false registration of a vehicle or false identification?

A. Well, yes. He says himself that this is what he was talking about -- false registration -- when he talks about establishing bona fides. So, you know ... You are asking me what is the nature of his thoughts. I say let's see what the man says, and he says this is what he means.

PAUL RACINE (RADIO MUTUEL) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, est-ce que vous avez interprété les élections dans Spadina et Joliette comme un message envers votre gouvernement et, parallèlement, est-ce que, face à la situation économique que nous connaissons, il y a quelque chose que le Canada peut faire pour la modifier à part attendre que la situation se modifie aux Etats-Unis?

R. Eh bien, oui, je suis convaincu que le résultat des élections dans Spadina et dans Joliette reflète une anxiété, peut-être même une angoisse, chez l'électorat canadien, sur la situation économique -- le niveau du dollar, le taux d'inflation et surtout le taux d'intérêt. Alors, dans mon esprit, les événements des semaines qui ont précédé le jour de la votation étaient de nature à causer une très grande préoccupation chez l'électorat et chez les Canadiens, en général. Et c'est à cela que le gouvernement s'adresse lorsque nous avons, toute la journée aujourd'hui, la semaine dernière, et plusieurs jours la semaine prochaine, fait des réunions de ministres pour essayer de trouver une façon de nous sortir de cette impasse causée largement, comme vous le dites, par le haut taux d'intérêt aux Etats-Unis qui afflige non seulement l'économie canadienne, mais encore plus massivement l'économie allemande, l'économie française, l'économie italienne, l'économie japonaise qui,

toutes, ont subi des dévaluations, sauf erreur, beaucoup plus considérables que la dévaluation du dollar canadien par rapport à l'américain.

Q. RICHARD DOYON (UPC): Mr. Prime Minister, in the event of a breakdown in the oil talks tomorrow between the oil ministers, do you have any plans to meet with Premier Lougheed, and if so, what can you offer him this year that you didn't offer him last summer?

A. Well, that is quite hypothetical, isn't it? The ministers have been meeting for not only the past several days, but they met several times in the past months, and I believe both sides are honestly looking for some kind of a compromise, some kind of a way out, some kind of a bargain, some kind of a solution. I thought they were going to meet on until late today. I am told there will even be work done over the weekend. So, I am hopeful that, because both sides are in earnest, that a solution will be found. But one has to be cautious about it.

Q. Will you meet with Premier Lougheed?

A. Well, I don't know. If the two ministers sign an agreement, I won't have to meet with Mr. Lougheed.

ROBERT LEWIS, (Maclean's): Mr. Prime Minister ---

A. So, as you say, if it is necessary to meet with Mr. Lougheed, I will, but I am not taking it as absolutely necessary. I hope the ministers will be able to clinch the deal.

Sorry.

ROBERT LEWIS, (Maclean's): Mr. Prime Minister, as you just indicated -- back on the McDonald Commission -- Mr. Starnes this morning said that he didn't think that this sensitive operation that he had sought authorization for from you

was an illegal operation.

He has further asserted -- I don't know if you've had a chance to comment on this yet -- but he has further asserted that you then told him that that was fine; that, in other words, you had authorized it, but if it became public, you would deny that.

I'm just wondering, does it not, then, follow that if Mr. Starnes and the RCMP, from you, knew that you were going to deny the knowledge of even a so-called legal act, could they not have assumed that they shouldn't bring any suggestion of illegal acts to you, knowing full well that you didn't want to hear even about, or would deny, the existence of so-called legal acts?

A. Well, I don't know about the words "would deny", but obviously I would react exactly as I reacted to Luc Lavoie a moment ago when he asked me was such and such an operation conducted against so and so.

If I happened to know the answer -- which I don't always know, because the RCMP was not generally in the habit of consulting me. They generally consulted their minister. Sometimes the minister met with me and Mr. Dare, or Mr. Starnes before that, but the normal procedure was that I would be asked about certain sensitive things; I would give my opinion, and then the minister and the Director General of Security would go back and make their decision. But having made a decision, the possibility about which I was informed, if I ever happened to be asked, I would answer exactly -- you know, you don't deny (I guess what I told to the previous questioner;

the young lady, too) you know, I don't deny and I don't agree; I don't confirm -- "It's a security operation. Don't ask me about it."

That is certainly what I would have told Starnes.

Q. Just for the record, did you in fact tell Mr. Starnes that if this act became public, that you would deny any knowledge of its approval, as he so asserts?

A. Deny any knowledge -- well, first of all, I would like to know what particular act you are talking about.

Q. We don't know the details because nobody wants to talk about them, but ---

A. Well, if it is the kind of question I had a moment ago and which was completely directly at the French Embassy, if this is what Mr. Starnes is talking about, well ask him. I don't want to talk about the French Embassy, or any other embassy. And if you ask me if we are targetting the Soviet Embassy, I will probably say "I don't know".

Q. No, sir, I am not asking that question. Mr. Starnes, without giving details, without referring to the French or Soviets, or whatever, has asserted, on CBC and on CTV yesterday and this morning, that he went to you seeking approval for a sensitive operation; that -- he further asserts -- that you said to him, "Well, Mr. Starnes, if it becomes public, we'll deny any knowledge of it".

Did you in fact say that to Mr. Starnes?

A. Look, I can't remember saying that, no. I can remember that I would have said words which you might say

to that effect -- "I am not going to say I know anything about that". And that is what I am going to answer, and that is what I have answered every question on sensitive security matters. No? You have a supplementary? The lady is shaking her head. Is it not clear? It's not. Well ...

MAURICE GODIN (RADIO CANADA): Q. Monsieur Trudeau, dans votre témoignage devant la Commission McDonald, vous avez dit que pendant la Crise d'octobre vous aviez reçu une liste de noms de personnes qui allaient être arrêtées, suite aux mesures de guerre, et que vous avez vous-même biffé,

avec monsieur Marchand, je pense, des noms de cette liste-là parce que vous croyiez que la GRC en connaissait moins que vous sur la question du séparatisme au Québec? Comment expliquer qu'à la suite de ça des personnes comme Michel Chartrand ou Pauline Julien aient été arrêtées?

R. Eh bien, cette liste, ç'a déjà été expliqué, je pense, par Pelletier, dans son livre, et, par moi, en réponse à des questions. La Gendarmerie est venue me voir dans ces heures cruciales pour me dire, bon, on va arrêter pas mal de monde. J'ai dit, à ma connaissance, vous connaissez peut-être un peu moins tous les recoins du Québec que nous autres, alors, montrez donc la liste à ces deux ministres-là et ils vont peut-être vous aider. Et, à ma connaissance, les deux ministres en question ont rayé... enfin, ont suggéré à la Gendarmerie qu'ils seraient bien avisés de ne pas arrêter toutes ces personnes et ils ont indiqué un très grand nombre de gens qui ne devaient pas être arrêtés parce qu'ils étaient peut-être des trouble-fête, mais ils n'étaient pas des personnages dangereux.

Vous me demandez comment expliquer après ça qu'on ait arrêté beaucoup de monde...

Q. Des gens, précisément, comme...?

R. Précisément, tout ce que je sais c'est que ces noms-là ont été ajoutés après que Pelletier et Marchand aient donné leurs conseils.

Q. Si vous croyiez en savoir plus que la GRC, comment les avoir laissé agir, encore une fois, à partir de ce que vous pensiez savoir?

R. Quand ils nous demandent conseil et qu'on leur donne conseil, on présume qu'ils vont écouter les conseils qu'on leur donne. Mais est-ce que c'est la Gendarmerie qui a ajouté des noms,ou est-ce que c'est la Police provinciale,ou est-ce que c'est la Police de Montréal?

Moi, je pense que ce qui est arrivé c'est que la Police provinciale et la Police de Montréal ont mis dans les listes un tas de noms qui n'avaient pas été soumis à Pelletier ou à Marchard ou, s'ils avaient été soumis, Pelletier et Marchand ont dit, n'arrêtez pas ce monde-là, ce sont des innocents, dans tous les sens du mot!

PAMELA WALLIN, CTV: Mr. Prime Minister you and Cabinet Ministers, both present and former, have said in the course of the last few years that they do not know about illegalities or may not have known about illegalities -- or questionable activities, we'll say it both ways -- because they were not in touch with the day-to-day operations of the Force; that that was not required. Mr. Starnes has made a couple of accusations -- one that Bob Lewis referred to; another one which he mentioned this morning, which was that Mr. Goyer, then Solicitor General, had asked him to in fact get the security force to carry out an operation on foreign soil, and again another reference to the vetting of the list by two of your Cabinet ministers.

Can you tell me whether you define that as an arm's length relationship with the RCMP and the Security Service in particular?

A. Yes, I do. That doesn't mean that the RCMP didn't at some point come to us or to the minister or to myself and say, "Look, we are thinking of arresting 200 or 300 people, can you give us some advice on the names?".

I think we would have been derelict, if we'd said, "Well, sorry, we are at arm's length we can't give you any advice."

If we know some answers, we give them.

Q. There are three cases, and particularly they indicate day-to-day operations. They were not, according to Mr. Starnes, that special.

A. Well, what three cases? We just talked about one which was pretty special.

Q. The vetting of the list, yes. The one case that he referred to was the surveillance of a diplomat here, and Mr. Goyer's request is a third one -- to send a Canadian agent to a foreign country to carry out some form of espionage. It is not specific on that.

Can you then add, if that was -- if that was what you consider regular kind of relations between the government and the RCMP, were there more examples of that?

A. Well, I don't think there is a categorical line that you can draw and say that we never heard about day-to-day operations. Occasionally the police would come to us and say there is this thing we are going to do, or what do you think about that, and then we would give our opinion; or if we thought that a particular person should come under surveillance, it would be normal for a minister who thought that to tell the police. But then the police went out and did it, and generally without reference to the minister in the final decision.

You know, there is not an absolute line. I think we have just given some examples of being consulted on day-to-day operations. I suppose what happened is when the police felt something was particularly sensitive and that their minister may happen to have a particular knowledge or judgment about it, they would consult him. But certainly there was no ongoing surveillance of the security and intelligence branch by myself, or I guess the facts established by the minister. That wasn't our policy. We felt the police should be at arm's length. But

that doesn't mean that when they ask us something, we don't help and co-operate, try and supply them with some information.

Q. But Mr. Goyer's request was to the Security Service. It wasn't the police coming back the other way.

A. Well, I don't recollect that particular case. But I see nothing wrong with that either. If a citizen or a minister has some particular cause to believe that Canadian security is being endangered, he goes to the police and he tells them "Maybe you should be watching such and so". Whether the police do it or not depends, I suppose, on the moral authority that they give to their informant, citizen or minister.

STUART LANGFORD, CBC-TV: Prime Minister, it is so rare that we get an opportunity to talk about mens rea, actus rea, res ipsa loquitur, but I am going to have to let it go so that we don't bore everyone at home watching. But I have a couple of general questions I would like to ask. Perhaps you could respond to those.

How do you respond, how do you react to two elements of the McDonald Commission -- one very general, and that is that if it points out nothing else, never mind who has criminal intent, it points out ten years of deceit and something less than forthrightness on the part of the people who are supposed to be protecting us, and on the part of the McDonald Commissioners, according to Messrs. Wright and Spence, it seems to point out ---

A. Wait a minute, when you talk of deceit on the part of people who are supposed to be protecting us, you are

not talking of the ministers of government?

Q. Oh no, no.

A. You are talking of ---

Q. Oh no.

A. No, I don't want a funny answer.

Q. No, no, I am talking about the RCMP, and that in itself must be disheartening enough. But if you want to talk about deceit, of course, on the part of any Cabinet ministers, we'd be pleased to hear, but I don't see any evidence of that in the Report. And the other part of the Report, though, that may disturb you and I would like your response on, it seems, following the releases yesterday of Spence's report and Wright's report, that the McDonald Commissioners' knowledge of the law is not very good -- and we spent $10 million for it. It doesn't seem to be very satisfactory.

How do you respond to those two problems?

A. Well, you are a lawyer. If you have a case, you go see a lawyer and he takes your case, and then somebody who has the contrary case goes to see another lawyer and he takes his case. Both think they are going to win. It doesn't mean they're both ignorant of the law. It doesn't mean McDonald is more ignorant of the law than Spence. It means that this is probably a pretty grey area of the law and only in the last resorts will the case law decide if it is an illegal act or not. All we know (is) that what is described as "illegal things" by McDonald and by Starnes has been termed not illegal by the Department of Justice and two very eminent specialists of the criminal law. That's the state of our legal knowledge.

Now, you know what Justice Pounds said, not about mens rea but when he defined the law: he says: "It is what, in the last resort, the judge will decide in a specific case."

That is the law. The rest -- I mean, that is a positivist view of the law. It's not a philosophical view. But existentially, the law is known after a court decides in a particular case -- and that is why there's so much adjudication, and that's why the cases which have been referred to the Attorneys General for prosecution of certain RCMP officers, they may bloody well be found innocent, because only in the end will -- well, you know the Supreme Court decision in, I think, the Sault St. Marie case, the great distinctions about legal per se, legal mens rea, and so on.And what is legal and what is illegal? In some areas such as this, it is a very, very interesting legal discussion. And that is why once again I, when first asked about this in the 1979 campaign -- there had been a revelation about this inherent contradiction document, or freedom within the law, and they said, "Were you informed of this?" I said, "Hell no, I wasn't informed. This is a problem I knew about long before when I was teaching law. You know, at what point does the right of a citizen to be free from arrest or free from surveillance conflict with the right of a policeman to do his duty to try and track down crime or spies?"

So, the inherent contradiction was something I knew about long before I came into government and that I worked on and which Spence and Mr. Wright are working on and

McDonald is working on. But, you know, a particular individual will only know that he has committed a crime the day that he will have been sentenced and he will have lost all his appeals.

Does that answer your question?

Q. And the ten years of deceit, how do you respond to that?

A. How is that question connected to the other? I am sorry.

Q. They're not. They're just two reactions. I am kind of -- you know, one reaction is particular towards the expense of your money, which you seem to think is still well spent, and the other one is the reaction to just the way the RCMP have been handling themselves. Now that the truth is out, how do you feel about that?

A. Well, I think what is apparent from the hindsight we have now from the McDonald Commission is that indeed the police and, I would say, the Canadian public generally, and I would say most of the people in the Opposition, and probably the press, as little as 10 or 12 years ago would have said, "It's not the business of the government to run the police. You know, we don't want political interference in the police."

And Jeez, I know how that damaged us in '70 and '71 when we were so bold as to try and force the police to have GRC on their flashers. And all hell broke loose in Parliament and -- you look back at it -- and in certain western provinces, and I have no doubt or hesitation in saying that we lost hundreds of votes in the '72 election because the RCMP were asked to put "GRC" on theirflashers and on the doors of their cars.

You know, that was political interference with the police -- telling them to go bilingual. Well, if that could be reprehensible politically, how much more reprehensible it would have been for us to sort of say, "Well, what particular operation did you carry out today and who are you spying on this week?" You know, that would have been political interference of a kind which would have been completely judged reprehensible in Canada. Ten years later we are changing our views on that, and in the government's recommendation we're saying, "Well, yes; well, perhaps in security matters, or certainly in security matters there should be some more political direction, even in the day-to-day things, than there was ten years ago" where there was only a few exceptions that we were talking about.

Have we gone that far on the criminal side? We have not. We still don't think that the government of the day should be involved in the day-to-day criminal investigations. But my reading of McDonald, which is superficial as yet, seems to indicate the contrary; that he is even suggesting political control of the RCMP even in criminal investigations.

So, you know, this is an area of evolving Canadian policy. Now, your question about deceit is put in that context -- what you call deceit. Maybe ten years ago the police found it their duty not to inform their political masters about what they were doing -- and I think they would have been, ten years ago, thanked for that. "God bless the police; they're not letting the minister know who they're investigating this particular week".

Morality is changing, and I think democratic sensitivities are becoming more sensitive -- and that's a good thing. But I wouldn't fault the police for having done something 20 years ago which the public would have applauded at 99½ per cent and which now the public is finding they shouldn't.

Now, this doesn't go so far as to say they were right in not even telling the minister, in answer to a point blank question, that they had committed certain things which looked pretty criminal. But here again, who is deceiving who? I know that when I was told around '75 -- or '76, was it -- that the APLQ was an isolated incident and there was no need to set up a Royal Commission to investigate into it because it was an isolated incident and there was no pattern -- and I said this in the House of Commons -- obviously somebody was deceiving me. But was it my interlocutory, or was it somebody down the line who had done something that he didn't even tell his superior?

And McDonald gives the partial answer to some of these things. And as I said when I discussed this whole matter, and the courts will eventually decide whether it was mens rea or not and whether it was illegal or just reprehensible, and so on.

MICHEL GRATTON, LE DROIT: Q. Si vous avez vraiment voulu faire la lumière sur les événements dont on parle dans le Rapport McDonald, pourquoi avez-vous refusé de témoigner en public?

R. J'ai refusé de témoigner en public pour la même raison qu'un tas d'autres personnes ont refusé de témoigner en public. Leurs avocats ont argumenté que ce n'était pas dans l'intérêt public de rendre tels témoignages.

Certainement, ce sur quoi - la Commission McDonald voulait m'interroger avait trait à une discussion qui avait eu lieu au Cabinet le 1er décembre 1970. Les discussions au sein du Conseil des ministres sont secrètes et je n'avais pas l'intention de dire publiquement ce qui s'était dit à cette réunion-là. Il s'est trouvé par la suite que la Commission McDonald a jugé de briser ce secret. Je ne les en blâme pas. Ils ont rendu public leur jugement sur cette réunion-là. Donc, j'ai dit, à ce moment-là, je vais rendre public mon témoignage. Et tout ce que j'ai dit à cette réunion qui, à ce moment-là, je pensais, devait être "in camera", être secrète, a été rendu public, tant par la Commission que par moi-même. Tout ce que j'ai dit à cette réunion-là a été distribué aux journalistes par mes propres soins.

Donc, on ne peut pas dire que mon témoignage est resté secret. Il est public. J'ai répondu à toutes les questions qu'on m'a demandées et les

réponses ont été rendues publiques. Mais quand j'ai rendu ce témoignage-là sur un sujet, encore une fois, qui était secret par son essence même - une discussion au Conseil des ministres - je n'avais pas l'intention que cette discussion soit rendue publique.

Q. ANDREW SZENDE, TORONTO STAR: Prime Minister, if I could ask you a couple of related questions, why -- to take you away from the McDonald Commission -- why was it necessary to put through a large pay increase for Members of Parliament of 27 per cent all in one day and then send Members of Parliament home for three months, when the country seemed to be in fairly difficult circumstances as far as the economy was concerned and when there were presumably things that the government could have been doing in public to give Canadians some assurance that in fact they did care about what was going on?

A. Well, I suppose that is a rhetorical question and you know the answer to that. All parties agreed that, in justice, there should be a pay increase; that there hadn't -- there was no doubt about that in all three parties. It's very rare that that happens, but this happened to be the case in this particular law. We've passed other laws on a Friday afternoon in all stages, you know, and all parties agreed. So, here is a case where all parties agreed that, in fairness, it should be done, and that's the way it was done.

You know, why take ten days to debate it if it can be done in one afternoon?

Q. What about business for the rest of the summer?

A. Pardon?

Q. What about other public business during the rest of the summer?

A. Well, one shouldn't assume that the government disappeared and all the government offices were

closed during the summer. It's well known that, at least since ten or twelve years, ministers are encouraged to take three weeks vacation in August. That doesn't always happen, because we're called back either to settle a grain strike, or a rail strike, or a postal strike, or to discuss the invasion of Czechoslovakia, or to answer the Nixon economic announcement of August, or to make an announcement of our own after the Bonn Summit, and so on. So, the vacation doesn't always take place. But even politicians are human, and three weeks of rest is something that I think we are entitled to schedule. It doesn't mean, once again, that ministers are not around, are not thinking about it, are not doing their work. They don't always go away at the same time. There are Cabinet or Cabinet committee meetings during that period. All the officials haven't gone home. It's not -- you know, Ottawa is not locked up. But you know the answer to this. I don't know why you're asking me to explain it to a seasoned reporter.

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE HELD AT THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1981.

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A L'AUDITORIUM DE L'EDIFICE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE, OTTAWA, LE 4 SEPTEMBRE 1981.

JOHN FERGUSON,Canadian Press: Prime Minister, in the 1980 election campaign you made a lot of promises about keeping oil prices lower than what the Tories had proposed. You said that consumers would be protected from abrupt increases in prices, and yet the terms of the Agreement,announced this week, according to figures provided by your own officials, clearly show that the prices are higher in '81 and '82 than they would have been under the Tory Budget, and that in '83 an '84 ---

A. No, that's not right.

Q. -- and in '83 ---

A. That's not right -- '81 and '82.

Q. It's not?

A. How can you say that?

Q. Where do they say that?

A. How can you say prices are higher in '81 and '82 than in the Tory Budget?

Q. I will let you explain, then.

A. Well, no -- you can ask your question, but you are making assertions which are wrong. I would just like you to check them and substantiate them.

Q. In 1979 the wellhead price was $14.75. That was then the consumer price. The consumer price after the October increase will be about $29.80. Under the Tories, it would have been about $23.

A. Where do you get that price?

Q. $4 and $4.50. That was stated in the budget.

A. But you're not adding the 18 cents excise tax; you're not adding the oil import compensation charge that they would have had to pay ---

Q. Okay, we'll add the 18 cents, and we'll make that about another $5 a barrel. So, we will put the Tory price up to $28 -- and that only applies on gasoline, not on heating oil. So now your price is $29 on heating oil ---

A. If you are talking of price at the wellhead, we are below the Tory prices. If you are talking of price at the gas pump, for the first two or three years there is not much difference between us -- we're equal. But if you're talking of gas prices, we're way below theirs.

There's obviously a quarrel on the figures here, but ---

Q. Could I quote ---

A. We have figures; we have tables. We can show them to you. I have them here. Our price is below the Tory price over the four years.

The commitment I made in Halifax is that we would be below them in 1980 and that, over the four years, the total would be considerably below them, and that is -- (to Mr. Gossage) give me my speech in Halifax -- that is exactly what I said, and that is exactly what the tables show.

Now, if you take two years, '81 and '82, the prices at the wellhead are lower in our case; the prices at the pump are the same -- because we've had to pay the "Lougheed" levy and because we've had a Canadianization tax.

Q. Wellhead, of course, doesn't mean the same as it did in '79, because there are petroleum compensation charges, a bunch of additional charges. I would like to stick to the consumer price, if we could, for comparative purposes.

A. Sure.

Q. I have some figures here that were released -- some of them were released -- the new prices, obviously were released this week by the Energy Department, and they listed prices at the pump, gasoline prices at the pump.

For 1981, according to the Department's figures today, or this week, they said that '81 figures will be 39.6 cents a litre at the pump.

Now, according to figures released by

the same department officials during Mr. MacEachen's Budget in October, they said that the Tory prices in 1981 would be 34 cents. So, that's 5 cents higher. In 1982, they said they would be 38 under the Tories, and the prices released this week say it will be 46.25. In 1983, the figures released last October said that they would be 51 cents a litre, and your price released -- again, which is a minimum price, and this is a price that your officials say really isn't believable because it's speculation -- is 54.4. In 1984 ---

A. Why do you say it's not believable?

Q. Because, they say, it's based on projections that aren't really certain and we don't know what the further taxes will be.

A. Well, they are believable in the sense that the schedule is fixed. What we don't know is what the international price will be, and that small percentage of imported oil which goes into our blended price, we don't know what that will be at. We're assuming that world prices will go up at inflation plus 2 per cent a year.

Now, if the officials are saying it might be higher than that, of course they are right; but that proves we've got an incredibly better deal than the Tories did, or that Mr. Lougheed was offering, because they were saying 85 per cent of world prices. We are not saying 85 per cent of world prices; we are saying 85 per cent of a price that Alberta and Canada have arbitrarily set at inflation plus 2.

So, if we are pessimistic, which is ---

MR. GOSSAGE: 75 per cent.

Sorry, you said 85.

A. No, no, inflation plus 2. The Tories were proposing a price which would be 85 per cent of world price. We are proposing a price which will be 75 per cent of an assumed, an agreed rise in prices of inflation plus 2 per cent a year.

I don't know who you're quoting out of Finance, but the fact is that we have predicated a modest rise every year of prices, and we've put that schedule on paper. And we've said we will reach 75 per cent of that at the end of '86. The Tories had said that they would reach 85 per cent at the end of '83 -- 85 per cent of real world prices. So, you can't argue both ways.

If the world prices go up faster than even we've predicated in our assumptions with Alberta, yes, of course, the oil import compensation charge will be slightly higher than is calculated in our tables, but the consumer will be infinitely better off under our system since he's only paying 75 per cent of this predicated price, rather than 85 per cent of the world price -- which, under this argument, would have gone up much faster than Alberta and we say.

Q. I will just try one final quotation, Prime Minister -- and it's a quotation from your speech in Halifax. You said:

> "This will necessitate a gradual increase in price ... this formula will result in a phased-in price, ---"

this is on page 8 of your speech.

"-- this formula will result in a phased-in price, not an abrupt excessive acceleration such as the Tories tried to implement."

Considering that your consumer price per barrel this year is a little bit higher than what the Tories had proposed, could you explain how you've lived up to that promise?

A. Well, let me deal with the latter assertion. In June, 1980 -- June of last year -- under the Agreement, prices were 26 cents a litre; under the Tories, if their budget had been implemented, it would have been 30. In June, 1981 -- that's this year -- 36 cents under the Agreement; Tories, 36 cents. Under the Agreement, in June, 1982, 43 cents; Tories, 43 cents.

That's why I say, except for the first year where we were better than them -- the first year we kept our campaign promise of being lower than them -- the two next years, we are equal with them; 1983, we are 50 cents a litre to their 57; and 1984, 59 cents for us to their 68.

So, you know, I don't agree with your figures. Now, insofar as my speech in Halifax was concerned, essentially, if you look at page 5, I think the relevant elements of the promise were that we would have a made-in-Canada pricing policy.

Now, it is made in Canada. It is made by the assumption of a table -- which I've just explained -- which prices go up at inflation rate plus 2 per cent a year.

That is not OPEC that is deciding that. Indeed, OPEC prices, as you know, have gone (up) a thousand per cent since 1973. We're assuming a much more modest increase. Maybe OPEC will do better for us. If they do, of course, we have the ceiling of the world prices. We will use their prices if they are lower than ours. But in every likelihood the prices will be higher than we assume; therefore, when I say it's a made-in-Canada pricing policy, it is beneficial to Canadians. We have agreed with Alberta on a modest -- modest in world terms and in terms of the past ten years -- rate of increase.

We said that we would replace oil by natural gas and other energy forms -- reading again from page 5.

Well, under the Tory proposal, gas would be at 85 per cent of oil prices -- which oil prices, once again, by the end of '84, would be considerably higher than ours. 85 per cent parity. Ours are going to be 65 per cent parity. So, substitution will be much more encouraged in our case.

We said we'd strengthen and expand PetroCanada, of course -- and we've done that; and we said we would ensure that Canada's energy sector becomes much more Canadian-owned and controlled -- and we've done that and we're continuing to do it. It was 91 per cent foreign-controlled at the beginning of the last decade. It is down to, I think it is, 65 or 70 (per cent) now.

Getting to the page that you were reading to me, page 8, yes, I still say we've done that. There will be a shift in the mix. As we use up sources of conventional

oil, there will be a shift in the mix towards more expensive new sources. That's what I said.

Q. I quoted the rest of the paragraph.

A. Well, I know. I wish you would have quoted that. There will be more expensive new sources -- and that's why we have a table on new oil which is higher than on conventional oil. We made the undertaking that there wouldn't be windfall profits on the old oil which has already been found, and that's why we've got a very heavy tax on -- I think it's 50 per cent tax -- on profits for the old oil.

But, as we go into new oil, there will be a shift in the mix, and this will necessitate a gradual increase in price.

Well now, you can argue with the work "gradual"; I am just saying it's much more gradual than the Tories', which would have been 85 per cent of real world at the end of '83, whereas ours will be 75 per cent of, not the real world, but an assumed lower world by the end of '86.

So, there will be a shift, and it will be gradual by these standards, and the formula "will result in a phased-in price, not an abrupt excessive acceleration such as the Tories tried to implement".

Now, you say it wasn't abrupt over the past two years. No, indeed it wasn't -- because they had $4 and $4.50 a year for the first years. They weren't front-loading it. But read the Crosbie Budget -- (To Mr. Gossage) give me the Crosbie Budget.

He said that but for '83 and '84, they

would be going abruptly towards 75 per cent of real world prices in '83, and by the end of '83, they would be going to 85 per cent of real world prices.

Now, this is pretty abrupt. And compare that -- I will read it:

"-- if the then prevailing ---"

This is Crosbie's Budget 1979, page 52 of the Budget Papers.

"-- if the then prevailing price ... January 1, 1983, ... is less than 75 per cent of the lower of the 'Chicago price' or the 'international price'---"

If it's less than 75 per cent, "we will jack it up, on January 1, 1983, to 75 per cent, and on January 1, 1984, we will jack it up so that"--- and I am reading:

"-- if the then prevailing price ... is less than 85 per cent of the lower of the Chicago price or the international price, the amount ---"

will be jacked up to 85 per cent.

That's what we call abrupt rises -- to an unknown world price, on which nobody could make any calculations for investment or for savings, or anything else, because it was unknown; it was going to be determined by OPEC. And it was going to be 85 per cent of that on January 1, 1984. And we are saying it will be 75 per cent on January 1, 1987, or December 31, 1986.

So, you know, what is "abrupt"? I think, in fairness, you have to recognize that this is considerably less abrupt. It doesn't mean prices are not

going to be high. They are obviously high, and that is why I read the part of the paragraph you didn't read. But, once again -- (to Mr. Gossage) give me the bar chart -- if you're looking at what is high -- you know, I was somewhat médusé, bewildered, bemused by the great headlines that in 1986 we would have, what is it, $4 gas, or something.

Right now, under our formula, and this summer, Canadian prices are 36 cents a litre. Right now they're 92 cents a litre in Italy, 89 cents in the United Kingdom, 86 cents a litre in France, 76 cents in West Germany, and even 42 in the United States -- compared to our 36. So right now we're much better. But big deal. You know, by December '86 a litre will be 79 cents -- say 80 cents. That's still below -- in 1986, five years from now -- it's still below what is paid now in France, the United Kingdom and Italy, and it's a couple of cents higher than what is paid right now today, in 1981 dollars -- or marks, or francs -- by those countries.

But by the time we're paying that, it will be in dollars of 1986 -- which, once again, predicate an inflation rate in the tables over these next five years.

So, in today's dollars, they're all paying, except the United States -- which is paying more than us, but not as much as we will pay in '86 -- but they're all paying -- Germany, about the same -- they're paying now, in 1981 marks, lira, francs, and so on, they're paying now what we will be paying in December, 1986.

Now, what's "abrupt", and, you know, what's this gloom and sobbing for ourselves because five years

or six down the road we are going to pay $4 a gallon? They're paying more than that now.

Do you see my point? I guess you do. Do you want me to read some more from ---

THE CHAIRMAN: Let's move on to the second half of this news conference.

TERRY WILLS, Montreal Gazette: I was a little worried you would not get to me.

A. I haven't got to a lot of people, I'm afraid -- and Marc hasn't either. But we're trying.

Q. The Conservative Budget also had some tax credits in it -- energy tax credits in it -- Prime Minister, and your government's own Energy Department issued data this week that shows that the average Canadian family heating on oil and driving their car on gasoline would be $60 worse off under the Liberal energy program you signed this week than they would be under the Conservative ---

A. Who issued that?

Q. The Energy Department.

A. No, I don't believe that.

Q. Well, I have it right here, Prime Minister.

A. Well, I have the contrary right here.

Q. Which one do we believe. If I might continue, Prime Minister, this was data that was released by your Energy Department this week -- it was distributed here

at a press conference -- and it shows, further than that, that next year the average Canadian family will be worse off by $170 -- this is a family that heats with heating oil and with gasoline purchases.

Now, do you think that fulfils your promise?

A. Well, it doesn't if we don't use the same statistics, of course. But, you know, of course, I can't argue with papers that you pull out of a hat ---

Q. They are not pulled out of a hat, Prime Minister.

A. Well, you know, I haven't seen them, I don't know what they are.

Q. I can pass them up.

A. Well give them to me, and I am sure the battle of figures will go on. I've given you our figures, and all I can ask is that you check them.

What does "Conservative Budget minus agreement" mean? Average family savings ---

Q. Prime Minister, the figure to which I'm referring is in the first column, 1981, where it shows, in brackets, $60, and it shows underneath it, in brackets, $170. That's under a heading: "Average Family -- Gasoline and Oil". That means an average family heating on heating oil, and that's what ---

A. Yes, but ---

Q. It's quite clear.

A. Is it? Well,what does "Conservative Budget minus agreement" mean?

Q. It means the difference between the cost to an average family from your plan signed this week and from the Conservative Budget plan -- so it was explained by Energy Department officials.

A. Well, to me, if you take the Conservative Budget and you subtract the agreement -- presumably our prices -- I see that by the end of 1984 -- the figures you are giving to me -- we're $450 ahead of the Tories.

Q. Yes, but ---

A. Oh. Well, fine. I was wondering what your question was.

Q. My question is, Prime Minister, do you think -- then, what you're saying is that your promise was that, over a period of years to 1984, the average family would be better off under the Liberal energy plan?

A. Indeed it was; indeed it was.

Q. And your ---

A. Let me read you that. Go ahead.

Q. And your promise was inoperative in 1981 and 1982. Do you think you fairly conveyed that to the voter?

A. Well, it wasn't inoperative. We didn't have an agreement. They were still paying things. But I can answer your question exactly -- in this second half of the press conference.

The point I made -- and the one I am looking for -- is that in the first year, in 1980 -- and please

look up my speeches -- we've done it with care -- in 1980, we'd be lower than the Tories. We've got that. We're just on "family -- gasoline and oil". We're lower in 1980. Then I carefully said that by the end of our agreement we'd be under the Tories -- and you're proving my point. $450 for the average family. If you add natural gas, we're $1290 ahead of the Tories -- by the terms of the Crosbie Budget -- at the end of '84.

You know, I never said that in '81, '82, '83 we would -- maybe I would have liked to have said that, but I didn't. I said that we would be below in 1980 and that over the length of the Tory agreement we would be better than them -- and your table just proves that to me.

Now, you can take two years in the case of gasoline and oil -- no years if you add natural gas -- where we will be worse than the Tories. But the overall sums, if you want to add credibility to this -- let's distribute to your colleagues. I don't know where you got it -- but it says that the Canadian family will be $450 better off over the life of the Tory term. If you take our term, it's probably much more, because, I repeat, we're going to 75 per cent by the end of '86, and we're talking here about '84. And if you add natural gas, they will be $1300 better off.

Now, if you can find any statement where I said that in 1981 we would be better than the Conservative Budget minus the agreement, we would be better than the Conservative Budget, well, then, I will have been faulted by that; but I'm quite sure that my statement was

this year we're going to be better, and over the life of the agreement. And Lalonde said that, and everyone said that. Do you want your table back?

DENIS LABRECQUE (Télémédia) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans le rapport qui a été rendu public en début de semaine, le groupe de travail parlementaire sur les accords fiscaux affirme qu'on doit maintenir le financement des programmes établis en vertu de ces accords fiscaux.

Alors, est-ce que vous avez l'intention de donner suite à cette recommandation, surtout à la lumière de l'accord conclu avec l'Alberta qui permettrait à votre gouvernement de retirer plusieurs milliards de dollars de plus que prévus au dernier budget ou, au contraire, est-ce que votre ministre des Finances a toujours le feu vert pour appliquer une réduction d'un milliard et demi de dollars au chapitre des accords fiscaux?

R. Vous oubliez un élément important de cet accord du comité parlementaire. Le rapport dit spécifiquement qu'il n'a pas placé ses conclusions dans le contexte budgétaire d'un déficit énorme du gouvernement fédéral, d'une situation où nous payons, je pense, 90 pour cent des frais universitaires d'opération dans la région de Toronto, une moyenne, je pense, de 60 pour cent à travers le pays.

Ce sont ces réalités que le rapport, afin qu'il puisse être unanime, n'a pas examinées. Si nous avions des milliards de dollars en supplément, je suppose que nous continuerions d'être généreux, comme nous l'avons été depuis belle lurette, dans des zones de

juridiction provinciale comme l'éducation, que les provinces protègent tellement. Le gouvernement fédéral, dans l'éducation post-secondaire; le gouvernement fédéral paie quelque chose comme 60 pour cent de la note, les provinces à peu près 35 pour cent et les étudiants paient la différence.

Je pense que ce qui serait plus raisonnable ce serait que pour chaque dollar payé par le provincial, il y ait un dollar payé par le fédéral, dans un domaine où les provinces ont juridiction.

Alors, si le rapport de monsieur Breau a négligé d'examiner cette réalité, ça ne m'étonne pas qu'il puisse arriver à la conclusion que plus on en donne à l'éducation et à la santé, mieux c'est, et nous sommes d'accord là-dessus. Tout simplement, nous disons là, le provincial devra faire un petit peu de sa part dans un domaine qui relève entièrement de sa juridiction.

Q. Donc, en conclusion, monsieur MacEachen va aller de l'avant avec son intention de réduire?

R. C'est ça.

ANDRE PRATTE (Télémédia): Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, l'agence de surveillance du secteur pétrolier que votre gouvernement a créée a rendu public hier son rapport qui indique, notamment, que les profits de l'industrie pétrolière ont augmenté, en 1980, de 31 pour cent.

En tenant compte de ces chiffres et de ce ceux des profits des entreprises pétrolières au cour des années précédentes, est-ce qu'il n'aurait pas été possible,dans la négociation de l'accord avec l'Alberta sur les prix de l'énergie, de réduire un peu la part des revenus pétroliers qui vont à l'industrie, de façon soit à atténuer les hausses de prix du pétrole ou, au moins, atténuer les effets de ces hausses-là sur les consommateurs?

R. Eh bien, effectivement, oui, et la réponse, c'est que nous l'avons fait. Sous le régime qui prévalait jusqu'à l'entente, le gouvernement de l'Alberta retirait à peu près 45 pour cent des revenus du pétrole et du gaz, les compagnies retiraient à peu près 45 pour cent et le gouvernement fédéral retirait 10 pour cent. Nous avons changé cela de sorte que maintenant le gouvernement fédéral va aller chercher entre 25 et 30 pour cent de ces revenus-là, la province d'Alberta, la province productrice, va aller chercher 30... 32 plutôt que 45 et les compagnies, elles, pour faire le compte, vont baisser de 45 à 40 pour cent.

Alors, nous allons chercher plus chez les compagnies que par les accords qui prévalaient jusqu'à maintenant.

Q. Je vous demanderais, alors, si vous êtes en mesure d'assurer les Canadiens dès maintenant que le gouvernement va prendre des mesures pour

protéger les consommateurs qui déjà font face à une situation économique difficile, dont les taux d'intérêt, contre l'effet des augmentations des prix de pétrole. Je pense aux gens qui sont le plus faible, économiquement parlant.

R. Eh bien, pour ce qui est de les protéger contre une hausse abrupte des prix, c'est déjà fait. Je vous indique que les tableaux que nous avons montrés mettront le Canadien, le consommateur canadien, à 75 pour cent d'un prix qui sera probablement en-dessous du prix mondial à la fin de '86. D'ici là, ça va monter, mais ça va monter beaucoup moins vite que prévu dans le budget du Parti conservateur et beaucoup moins vite, évidemment, que les prix internationaux. C'est cette charte-là. Même en présumant une croissance modeste des prix mondiaux, c'est-à-dire le taux d'inflation plus 2 pour cent, nous arrivons à une courbe comme ça, c'est ça, le prix mondial. Ca aurait été ça, le prix, avec le budget conservateur, c'est ça, le prix, avec l'entente que nous avons signée.

Alors, le consommateur est protégé contre des prix mondiaux qui actuellement sont... Ca, ce sont les prix actuellement au Canada, ce sont les prix actuellement en Italie, en Angleterre et en France. En 1986, les Canadiens auront payé moins cher pour leur essence qu'aujourd'hui les Français, les Anglais et les Italiens paient aujourd'hui. Alors, c'est une protection considérable que cette entente leur assure. Ca ne veut

pas dire que les prix ne monteront pas. Ca ne veut pas dire, non plus, qu'il n'y aura pas des conséquences sociales à cette hausse des prix. Il va falloir que nous agissions au mieux que nous pouvons, mais il y aura certainement des cas où il faudra tenir compte de la misère que ça cause et c'est pourquoi la première chose que le gouvernement a faite après son élection, en prévision de ces hausses qui existaient, ç'a été d'augmenter le supplément garanti de la vieillesse à $40 par mois.

BILL FOX, Toronto Star: Sir, in the wake of this Energy Agreement, several Premiers have made statements to the effect that it has improved the atmosphere surrounding federal-provincial relations. I wonder if, as a result of that, whether you would consider calling a First Ministers Conference on the Constitution to try and solve that problem.

A. I am not considering that. The eight disagreeing provinces have decided to take the matter to the courts. We have decided to wait for the judgment of the courts. We will be bound by the judgment of the courts, and I hope the Premiers will be bound by the judgment of the courts, since they're the ones who took the initiative to say it has to be decided.

If the courts decide that what we are doing is legal, we will do what we are doing.

Q. If the courts decide that everything in the package but the Charter is legal, what will you do then?

A. I would have to consider that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Prime Minister, thank you very much.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I've got the phrase that I was looking for on page 9.

"The Made in Canada price ---"

That's my speech in Halifax.

"The Made in Canada price will result in a lower price to consumers than the one proposed for

the next four years in the
Clark budget."

So, I was talking of the period of four years -- page 9, third paragraph.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Prime Minister.

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TRANSCRIPTION DE L'ENTREVUE DU PREMIER MINISTRE ACCORDEE A PAUL RACINE DE RADIO-MUTUEL, POUR RADIO-MUTUEL ET TVA, A MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIE, LE VENDREDI 2 OCTOBRE 1981

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER INTERVIEW WITH PAUL RACINE OF RADIO-MUTUEL, FOR RADIO-MUTUEL AND TVA, IN MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1981

Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, vous venez de parcourir plusieurs pays: la Corée, l'Australie, mais, à cause de ce jugement de la Cour suprême, je pense que tous les esprits/ sont braqués sur le Canada, où le débat constitutionnel a repris. C'est un peu de ce jugement de la Cour suprême dont je voudrais vous parler au début. Les juges de la Cour suprême vous disent: "vous avez le droit de faire ce que vous faites, mais il y a une convention qui veut qu'il y ait un consensus des provinces au rapatriement." Alors, maintenant, est-ce que vous ne vous sentez pas dans l'obligation, au moins morale, d'augmenter ce consensus des provinces?

R. Disons que j'aimerais que le consensus augmente, mais je ne sens aucune obligation morale, pour employer votre expression, de produire cette augmentation de consensus. Je suis impuissant de le faire. Ca dépendra des provinces, si elles veulent appuyer les objectifs fondamentaux de notre démarche, donner aux Canadiens leur Constitution, leur donner une formule d'amendement, et

leur donner une protection des droits fondamentaux.

La raison pourquoi je souligne le mot "morale" que vous employez, Paul, c'est que j'estime qu'il est proprement immoral pour les provinces de continuer de dire ce qu'elle disent depuis des décennies: "vous, le gouvernement canadien, vous ne pourrez faire une démarche à Londres pour donner aux Canadiens leur Constitution qu'uniquement si vous nous donnez plus de pouvoirs." C'était, n'est-ce pas, la formule de Daniel Johnson, en 1966: "pas de rapatriement, à moins qu'il y ait plus de pouvoirs pour le Québec". C'était la position de M. Bourassa, à Victoria, où l'on s'était entendus sur le rapatriement et la formule d'amendement, et une certaine protection du droit linguistique et politique. Il a dit: "en fin de compte, nous ne permettrons le rapatriement..." autrement dit, nous ne joindrons le consensus - qui était alors 9 contre 1 ... qu'est-ce qu'un consensus? Il y en avait 9... enfin, il y en avait 10, y compris le fédéral, et même 11, au début - mais M. Bourassa est entré en disant: "j'ai changé d'idée. On ne pourra permettre le rapatriement que si vous donnez plus de pouvoirs au Québec". Et en 1976, tous les Premiers ministres, ensemble, sont entrés dans le même jeu. Ils ont tous dit: "si le Québec ne permet pas le rapatriement à moins d'avoir plus de pouvoirs, moi, Peckford, je ferai la même chose. Moi, Lougheed, je ferai la même chose". Alors, ils ont signé une déclaration conjointe, stipulant que le rapatriement était nécessaire,

mais qu'il ne le permettrait "qu'à condition"- j'ai cité le texte -"que vous augmentiez nos pouvoirs sur la culture, sur le commerce etc."

Alors, c'est ça que je trouve immoral. Que les gouvernements provinciaux aient voulu refuser aux Canadiens d'avoir leur Constitution et leurs droits fondamentaux, à moins que eux, Premiers ministres provinciaux, voient les gouvernements provinciaux augmenter leurs pouvoirs. Ca, je trouve immoral, je trouve ça illégitime.

Q. Mais le consensus, qui à Victoria était de 9 ou 10, est réduit à 2, maintenant. Il y a beaucoup de commentateurs qui diront: "M. Trudeau a gagné à la Cour suprême, pourquoi abuserait-il de sa victoire, et procéder, malgré...?

A. Justement, examinons l'expression "abuser de ma victoire". En quoi est-ce que j'abuserais de ma victoire pour donner aux Canadiens ce qu'ils veulent avoir depuis toujours, leur Constitution, et la protection des droits fondamentaux? Est-ce que j'abuse de ma victoire en donnant au peuple canadien ce qu'il veut? Ce qui inquiétait le peuple canadien, je pense, c'était de savoir si notre démarche était légale. Vous le savez, tous les sondages l'ont prouvé. Les

Canadiens veulent une Constitution canadienne, ils veulent la protection des droits fondamentaux, mais ils disent: "nous n'aimons pas la méthode. Nous ne sommes pas certains que c'est légal. Est-ce que ce n'est pas un coup de force, - comme dit le gouvernement péquiste - si c'est un coup de force, ce n'est pas légal? Alors, allons devant les tribunaux, pour voir si c'est légal ou non." Nous sommes allés devant les tribunaux, et les tribunaux on dit: "c'est légal, mais ce n'est pas gentil. Vous devriez essayer d'avoir le consentement de..." Mais de qui, de quoi, de combien? Nous avions 10 contre 1, à Victoria, puis nous ne l'avons pas fait parce que nous étions des gentlemen. Maintenant, vous allez dire: "bien, il y en a 8 contre 3, soyez encore des gentlemen". Mais, en étant des gentlemen comme ça, les Canadiens n'auront ni leur Constitution, ni la protection des droits fondamentaux et des droits linguistiques, d'ici cent ans.

Les provinces ont clairement établi que si l'on joue le jeu de gentlemen, elles vont faire du chantage.

Q. Vous dites: "je donne au peuple canadien ce qu'il veut". Est-ce vous êtes convaincu que, si demain il y avait un référendum sur votre projet constitutionnel, ça passerait dans chacune des régions du pays: les Maritimes, le Québec, l'Ontario et l'Ouest?

R. Je suis absolument convaincu. A condition qu'on demande la question: "voulez-vous une Constitution canadienne, oui ou non? Voulez-vous la protection des libertés fondamentales, oui ou non?" Je mettrais ma main dans le feu qu'on gagnerait un référendum et, s'il le fallait, j'en aurais un. Mais ce n'est pas la question que les Premiers ministres demandent. Et ce n'est pas la question, non plus, qui a été posée dans plusieurs... Ils disent: "êtes-vous d'accord avec la méthode du fédéral d'aller unilatéralement s'il n'y a pas le consentement de tout le monde". Et les gens disent... - 60% ou 70%, disent: "non, nous n'aimons pas cette manière-là". A quoi je réponds: "moi non plus, je ne l'aime pas."

C'est pourquoi depuis 1968, j'essaie d'avoir le consentement des provinces. Mais les Premiers ministres / m'ont dit plusieurs fois, en toutes lettres: "vous n'aurez jamais notre consentement, à moins que vous augmentiez les pouvoirs provinciaux". Bon. Puisque le peuple canadien veut sa Constitution / et la protection de ses droits - et ça, encore une fois, les sondages l'ont démontré - donnons-le lui.

Et ne prétextons pas que ce qui est légal, mon Dieu, ce n'est pas gentil de le faire. Parfois, en politique, il faut faire des choses qui se sont pas gentilles.

Q. Maintenant, est-ce que vous voulez reprendre les négociations avec les provinces?

R. Je ne refuserai pas des négociations si les provinces me donnent raison de croire qu'elles sont prêtes à trouver des moyens de donner à la population leur Constitution et la protection des droits fondamentaux. J'ai l'intention de voir le Premier ministre Bennett, qui est le président du groupe des Premiers ministres provinciaux, pour savoir si, effectivement, ils sont sérieux, dans ce domaine-là. S'ils disent: "nous ne sommes pas certains. Nous n'avons pas réussi à former le consensus. On ne vous promet pas que l'on ne demandera pas des pouvoirs provinciaux en retour, mais faisons donc une réunion dans un mois ou deux, nous ne sommes pas si pressés, on regardera ça". A ce moment-là, il n'est pas question, on procède dès que le Parlement revient. Et s'ils me disent, au contraire: "oui, on s'aperçoit que votre affaire est légale, mais, vous savez, ça serait plus gentil si vous aviez notre consentement. Nous sommes prêts à reconnaître que le peuple veut sa Constitution, qu'il veut une déclaration des droits fondamentaux, alors nous sommes prêts à collaborer avec vous, gouvernement canadien, pour le lui donner, mais changez donc tel article, ou essayez donc de renforcir la protection des droits du français dans des provinces où les francophones sont minoritaires, ou changez donc un peu

l'affaire sur les langues, dans le Québec," là, nous serons prêts à négocier. Mais...

Q. Est-ce que vous voulez dire que vous être prêts à faire des concessions sur l'aspect linguistique? C'est un aspect qui semble inquiéter beaucoup le gouvernement du Québec, actuellement.

R. Oui, et je voudrais savoir ce que le gouvernement du Québec veut. Moi, j'ai agi exactement sur ...

Q. Par exemple, que la Charte des Droits n'empiète pas sur l'application de la loi 101. Je pense que c'est ça qu'ils demandent.

R. Laissez-moi vous rappeler qu'à St-Andrews, en 1978-1979, M. Lévesque a dit - et tous les Premiers ministres on dit - qu'il voulait protéger les droits linguistiques, les droits scolaires, des minorités linguistiques dans la province. Il était prêt à signer des garanties par voie d'échange de lettres avec les autres provinces. S'il veut obtenir ça par d'autres moyens, je suis prêt à négocier. A condition qu'il ne change pas d'idée, qu'il ne commence pas à dire: "je ne veux plus protéger les anglophones chez nous, et ça ne m'intéresse plus que les francophones ailleurs soient protégés." Evidemment, je dirai: "moi, j'ai mis dans la

Constitution ce que vous aviez dit en 1979, que vous vouliez protéger les minorités linguistiques, les minorités francophones dans les autres provinces, la minorité anglaise au Québec. Si c'est ça que vous voulez et que vous n'aimez pas la façon dont nous l'écrivons, ou vous voulez écrire ça d'une façon qui serait, d'après vous, plus compatible avec le Bill 101, d'accord je suis prêt à m'asseoir et trouver un meilleur langage".

Q. M. Ryan et les Libéraux du Québec viennent de donner leur appui à une résolution du gouvernement péquiste qui condamne votre projet constitutionnel. Comment réagissez-vous à cette attitude des Libéraux québécois?

R. Je dis: "quoi de nouveau?" Ils ont dit, au fond, ce que M. Ryan dit depuis au moins quinze ans. A savoir qu'il ne devrait pas y avoir de rapatriement à moins que le Québec ait plus de pouvoirs. Alors, là-dessus, il est parfaitement constant avec lui-même. Mais, il est dans la position de chantage que je décrivais tout à l'heure.

Q. Mais, pour un fédéraliste québécois, est-ce que le spectacle de division entre les anciens alliés du référendum vous, M.Ryan,

M. Chrétien, est-ce que ce n'est pas de nature à engendrer un peu de perplexité, parce que tout le monde veut, finalement, respecter les promesses qui ont été faites aux Québécois, pendant le référendum, mais on ne s'entend sur la façon de le faire.

R. Oui, ça engendre de la perplexité, mais ça été fait avant. Regardez, M. Clark est bien embarrassé de ce qu'un Premier ministre provincial, M. Davis, conservateur, comme lui, prenne un point de vue opposé. Et M. Clark est bien embarrassé que M. Hatfield, Premier ministre conservateur du Nouveau-Brunswick, est prêt à appuyer le gouvernement libéral fédéral. Et, moi, si vous voulez que je sois embarrassé que ce soit la position de M. Ryan, oui, je dis, ça m'embête . Je préférerais que les Libéraux provinciaux nous appuient. Mais je ne vois pas un drame majeur là-dedans. Il y a la division, évidemment. Les députés provinciaux se disent: "tenons bon encore un peu. On peut peut-être obtenir un peu plus de juridiction pour le Québec, à condition d'avoir encore une autre conférence fédérale-provinciale. Alors, on dit au fédéral que l'on n'aime pas sa manière de procéder". Et je le concède, moi non plus, je n'aime pas notre manière de procéder. Je me répète, mais j'aurais préféré beaucoup qu'en 1971, quand tout le monde était d'accord pour rapatrier avec une formule d'amendement,

qu'on l'eût fait. Mais, vous vous rappelez l'histoire. M. Bourassa est retourné dans le Québec et M. Ryan écrivait des articles à tour de bras, disant: "il ne faut permettre le rapatriement tant que le Québec n'aura pas eu plus de pouvoirs, etc." Alors, je ne m'étonne de rien, maintenant.

Q. Certaines provinces - il n'y a pas d'accord entre vous et les provinces - disent: "on va lutter contre ce projet par tous les moyens, jusqu'au bout." Ca paraît des paroles assez fortes. Est-ce que, à votre avis, on est au bord d'une crise, au Canada?

R. Mon Dieu, des petites crises, il y en a toujours, en politique. Et je pense que les politiciens en font leur monnaie courante, des crises. Ce sont toujours des crises. M. Peckford nous annonçait des crises si le Québec ne permettait pas à l'électricité terre-neuvale de traverser le Québec. M. Lougheed nous a promis une crise pendant un an. Il allait couper le pétrole à moins qu'on ne lui donne ses prix.

Alors, maintenant, il y a une autre crise. Les provinces font des crises parce que maintenant que la démarche fédérale est jugée légale, elles aimeraient bien qu'on le fasse d'une façon plus gentille.

Q. Est-ce que vous croyez que c'est un débat qui passe par-dessus la tête des citoyens canadiens, ou qu'il va, au contraire, les toucher profondément?

R. Je réponds à votre question, Paul, que si on demandait franchement aux Canadiens: "voulez-vous une Constitution canadienne plutôt qu'anglaise, et voulez-vous que l'on protège vos droits fondamentaux, vos libertés, le droit de parler les deux langues, etc?", moi,je suis convaincu qu'ils voteraient à 80 contre 0, si vous voulez ...

Q. Mais si le gouvernement du Québec demande aux Québécois: "voulez-vous que le gouvernement fédéral menace vos libertés linguistiques, menace votre culture, menace les lois qui protègent le Québec?...C'est ce que l'on fait, en ce moment." Si on pose ce genre de question-là, quelle réponse pensez-vous que les Québécois vont donner, surtout maintenant que M. Ryan se ligue avec M. Lévesque.

R. Alors, là, je suis convaincu que nous sommes battus. Si on fait un référendum en disant: "voulez-vous que le gouvernement fédéral écrase le

drapeau québécois et empiète sur vos libertés les plus fondamentales, évidemment, les Québécois diront: "non, pas question." Et moi, Québécois, je voterais non, aussi.

(inaudible)

le gouvernement fédéral froisse le drapeau québécois et enlève les droits fondamentaux des Québécois. Mais là, ce sera un combat d'intelligence et de raison. Et je leur expliquerai, aux Québécois, que l'on est d'accord sur ça. Mais nous sommes aussi d'accord sur autre chose. "S'il s'agit d'avoir une Constitution canadienne, êtes-vous d'accord?", "eh bien, si vous ne froissez pas le drapeau québécois, oui, nous voulons une Constitution canadienne", et "est-ce que vous voulez que l'on protège votre liberté fondamentale, la liberté de parole, de religion, etc.?", "eh bien, ça, ça ne nous enlève pas de droits, alors nous sommes d'accord là-dessus", et "voulez-vous que les anglophones puissent avoir le droit d'envoyer leurs enfants dans des écoles anglaises du Québec, à condition qu'ils permettent aux francophones du Manitoba, ou de la Saskatchewan, ou du Nouveau-Brunswick, d'envoyer leurs enfants aux écoles françaises?", "eh bien, si c'est égal comme ça , si c'est"change pour change", nous sommes d'accord".

Alors, ça dépend de la question que l'on pose. Et, je pense qu'il y a malheureusement beaucoup de mensonges qui se content dans ces histoires-là.

Q. Il y a certains de vos critiques qui vont dire: "dans le fond, toute cette histoire-là, on pourrait la négocier tranquillement, mais M. Trudeau veut prendre sa retraite, il est pressé, il veut régler ça, il va bousculer tout le monde".

R. Il me semble que c'est difficile de tenir ces propos quand ils savent que je suis si peu pressé que j'en parle depuis 1968, qu'on a eu quelque vingt conférences fédérales-provinciales, et que nous n'avons jamais abouti à rien. S'ils veulent que je prenne un autre vingt ans, je pourrais bien dire: "d'accord, ça me donnera un prétexte pour rester vingt ans de plus en politique".

Mais je trouve dommage que les Canadiens, qui ont pris tellement de temps pour se donner un drapeau, et qui disent maintenant: "bien, c'est fait. Pourquoi on ne l'a pas fait avant", je trouve dommage que nous cédons à la tentation de se dire: "bien voilà 54 ans que nous essayons de rapatrier la Constitution, mais au nom de la gentillesse et du consensus, attendons donc un autre 2 mois, un autre 2 ans, un autre vingt an". Je trouve ça dommage, parce qu'il y a tant d'autres questions dont il faut s'occuper, et que nous avons mis, pour commencer, la meilleure organisation de la société, une nouvelle négociation de la répartition des pouvoirs entre le fédéral et le provincial.

Toutes ces choses que nous ne pouvous pas faire parce que nous sommes bloqués. Ne sachant pas comment amender notre Constitution, on ne peut pas donner aux Canadiens cette Constitution moderne qu'ils veulent.

Alors, encore une fois, on peut toujours dire: "Ah, c'est parce que Trudeau est pressé". Moi, je dis que le Canada a besoin de savoir si oui ou non il peut agir en pays indépendant. Si oui ou non, il y a un certain nombre de valeurs communes, comme les libertés de base, comme l'égalité linguistique, auxquelles ils croient. Et je trouve qu'il faut demander cette question-là aux Canadiens maintenant. Et, comme nous avons attendu 54 ans pour leur demander, moi, j'ai décidé, puisque c'est légal, de leur demander tout de suite, la semaine prochaine, et de le demander aux Anglais, et ensuite on continuera à discuter.

Q. Vous avez parlé d'économie, c'est un problème important. Comment allez-vous concilier, à la rentrée d'automne, votre échancier constitutionnel et votre échancier économique?

R. Eh bien, ce sont deux échanciers parallèles, qui sont toujours d'actualité. Mais l'échancier constitutionnel, il se trouve, encore une fois, qu'il a ouvert ses étapes en 1927. Et lui, heureusement, on peut lui mettre un terme. On peut finalement rapatrier

la Constitution, et protéger l'égalité linguistique. Ca, on peut le faire, et l'étape sera finie. Malheureusement, l'économie, ça change constamment. Il y a de l'inflation, il y a une déflation, il y a du chômage, il y a une mauvaise répartition des richesses, la pauvreté sera toujours là, et il faudra toujours lutter contre. Alors, cet échancier-là, c'est pour toujours. Il continuera tant que l'on aura un pays.

Q. Mais, précisément, pensez-vous que le problème constitutionnel peut être réglé pour Noël? Allez-vous reprendre le débat sur le projet de rapatriement après le budget?

R. On pense faire ça dès la rentrée, c'est-à-dire la semaine du 14 octobre. La Chambre revient le 14, et à moins que j'aie appris de M. Bennett, vendredi prochain, que vraiment - je répète ce que j'ai dit tout à l'heure - ils sont prêts à augmenter le consensus seulement à condition que nous fassions des changements ici et là, on procède. Et ce sera fait trois jours après. La Constitution partira pour l'Angleterre, et nous n'aurons plus besoin d'y mettre une seconde, ici. Ce sera aux Anglais de passer ça et, ensuite, ça deviendra la Constitution canadienne.

Q. Une question de politique internationale, parce que c'est un peu pour ça que l'on est ici. Vous avez présidé le Sommet économique d'Ottawa. On a parlé du dialogue Nord-Sud, on en parle à cette conférence du Commonwealth, dans trois semaines vous vous retrouverez à Cancun, au Mexique, pour relancer cette question du dialogue Nord-Sud. Comment se présente un peu, à lumière des Sommets auxquels vous avez assisté cette année, celui de Cancun?

R. Eh bien, il faut rappeler aux Canadiens que la raison pourquoi le Canada a été invité à Cancun, avec 22 autres pays, sur un total de 155, c'est que l'opinion mondiale croit que le Canada est un pays de gens généreux, qui sont prêts à aider les affamés du Tiers-Monde. Et c'est pour avoir un Canada, parmi les pays industrialisés, qui fait un peu contre-poids à des pays peut-être un peu moins généreux que le Canada. Et c'est dans ce sens-là que l'on m'a invité, pour expliquer le point de vue canadien. Comme vous le savez, nous ne sommes pas follement dépensiers en ce qui s'agit d'aider le Tiers-Monde, mais chaque fois que nous le pouvons, avec nos dollars, ou notre influence au sein du Front monétaire international, au sein de la Banque Mondiale, nous appuyons, dans le sens d'un peu plus de justice pour les affamés de la terre. Et c'est pour ça que nous sommes invités, et c'est ce que j'ai l'intention de dire là, comme ce qui je dis ici à Melbourne.

Q. Quand les Canadiens ont des problèmes d'inflation, de taux d'intérêt élevés, de restrictions économiques, croyez-vous qu'ils se sentent toujours aussi généreux envers le Tiers-Monde?

R. Oui. Au fond, c'est comme si vous me disiez: "les gens vont à la messe, le dimanche, mais ils ne donneront rien à la quête, cette semaine, parce que, Mon Dieu , ils ont été obligés de renoncer à la possibilité d'acheter une deuxième automobile, ou ils ont été obligés de renoncer au désir d'avoir une nouvelle/de bal pour Madame, qui en avait déjà une nouvelle la semaine dernière". Les gens, au Canada, aimeraient, naturellement, être plus riches encore, avoir moins de chômage, et avoir un taux d'intérêt plus bas. Mais je ne pense pas que ça les empêche de dire à quelqu'un qui meurt de faim: "je peux bien vous donner quelquechose".

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TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIE, LE VENDREDI 2 OCTOBRE 1981

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, OCTOBER 2, 1981

Q. ...(inaudible)... la motion du Parti québécois à l'Assemblée nationale condamnant votre projet constitutionnel. Est-ce que vous trouvez que, de la part de M. Ryan, c'est un geste qui reflète ...(inaudible)?

R. Non. Je pense que M. Ryan avait un choix, ou bien de ne pas s'associer à M. Lévesque et de laisser M. Lévesque tomber dans les pires excès de verbe et de pensée, ou bien d'essayer de s'associer à M. Lévesque et de modérer un peu son langage et ses pensées. On m'explique que M. Ryan a apporté plusieurs amendements qui ont eu l'effet d'adoucir un peu la motion.

Alors c'est un rôle qu'il a choisi de jouer, et ce n'est pas à moi de le critiquer.

Q. On dit que le Président du Caucus des Libéraux du Québec, M. Olivier, a dit que désormais, à la suite (inaudible) de M. Ryan, les Libéraux fédéraux étaient l'opposition réelle au Québec. (inaudible)

R. Je ne sais pas dans quel contexte M. Olivier a dit ça. Mais si vous voulez dire que sur la question constitutionnelle, nous sommes l'opposition réelle, il me semble qu'il a raison. Il reste qu'il y a une opposition valable au Québec, sur toutes les autres matières. Mais, sur la Constitution, si M. Ryan associe son parti à celui de M. Lévesque, évidemment il ne forme plus l'opposition réelle. Est-ce que ça répond à vos inquiétudes?

DAVID HALTON, CBC: Q. Prime Minister, you were telling us the other day in Seoul that you were prepared to make changes to the constitutional resolution, as long as the Charter of Rights wasn't (inaudible). I wonder if you could give us some general idea of whether you are thinking of minimal changes A, and B, whether one formula that might correspond to that is reverting to an opting out formula, in the Charter of Rights?

A. No. I don't plan anything at all as drastic as opting out. I did agree that, even though there was a year's work put in to the Bill of Rights, there might be some ways of improving it. I know some provinces, even during the Summer of 1980, you'll recall, had considerably weakened the Charter, because when we came back with it in September going on our own, we had a lot of groups - the Civil Liberties groups, the Canadian

Bar, and so on - saying that the Charter wasn't strong enough. If the provinces, for sake of administration, want to weaken some sections again, we could go back to those negotiations. But I think I made it quite clear that we didn't want to abandon any essential part of the Resolution, and that since the provinces had challenged the legality or our resolution, and that the Courts had adjudicated that it was legal, that I thought it was up to the provinces to see if they could get together on any improvement of the Resolution, more than any emasculation of it.

Q. ... (inaudible) the area of compromise between yourself and the provinces would be fairly minimal?

A. I made it quite clear that now that our Resolution is judged legal in its present form - not on patriation and an amending formula, but the Bill of Rights - that we intended to go ahead, but that I wouldn't refuse to talk to the provinces if they had any proposals,collectively, that they wanted to make. I hope I didn't indicate that they could meet with expectations that I would withdraw the whole Charter, or go for any opting out. I'm certain I didn't convey that, I believe, in my statement. Essentially, I said: we want to go ahead, with prudent haste. And by that I mean that if Mr. Bennett, as Chairman of the Premiers Conference, after having canvassed the Premiers,

has some proposal to make, I would listen to him. Now, I can't dictate what his proposal is. If it is a complete emasculation of the Bill of Rights, then I will have to say: "I'm sorry, we go ahead". Because if it is improvement, in one aspect or other of it, that would bring some of them on board, then I would be prepared to consider them.

JOHN FERGUSON, CANADIAN PRESS: Q. Prime Minister, what are your plans for meeting with Mrs. Thatcher on the Constitutional issue, and what will be the message you want to convey?

A. The plans for meeting her have been set for Monday afternoon. There's a time and place to be determined. I should tell you that I believe I'm having a Press Conference at the end of the afternoon, so don't bother trying to find out what I'm going to say coming out from my meeting with her, I'll tell you later. But, you asked: "what do I plan to tell her"? Essentially two things: now that the Courts have judged that our Resolution was withing the law of Canada and within the law of Britain - their view of the Statute of Westminster, that there was no longer any legal impediment - I would expect her to pass the motion. But I would tell her that I would, of course, have to rely on her judgement as to what timetable she could realistically call.

Q. Would you also say, Sir, that you still think the decision that the British should not spend a month behind the resolution, despite what some backbenchers may say and have already been saying about your resolution?

A. I doubt whether she will cause me to have to make that point to her. I haven't really spoken to her about this since the judgement is out. I believe she wanted to reserve to read it and to reflect on it. I think I told you I spoke to Carrington briefly at a luncheon I had with Her Majesty. There were a couple of other Premiers who discussed it at great length. So, in a sense, Her Majesty is also informed. But certainly, we are exactly in the position we were when I spoke to her more than a year ago, and said that there will be some provincial opposition, but we intend to do this because provincial opposition has been there for 54 years, and,in our judgement, we must go ahead.

So, I don't think I'll have to make that argument to her. I suppose we may have to have people make it to the backbenchers who you referred to and tell them quite simply that the Court's judgement is that if you break conventions, you have to pay for that politically. But that means that we will have to pay for the political consequences of our act. And these should

be faced by our government, not by the British backbenchers.

FRANCINE BASTIEN, RADIO-CANADA: Q. Changeant de sujet Monsieur le Premier ministre, M. Kershaw, le Président du Comité britannique sur la Constitution, a laissé entendre que ça devient difficile, sinon impossible, d'adopter la résolution constitutionnelle, après le jugement de la Cour suprême. Alors, pourriez-vous quand même obtenir de Mme Thatcher la garantie que les Communes britanniques vont adopter le projet, aussi vite que possible, dès qu'il aura quitté les Communes d'Ottawa?

R. Je ne peux vraiment pas dire ce que Mme Thatcher va me dire lorsque je la verrai, lundi. Elle m'a toujours dit que ce serait difficile, qu'il y aurait des opposants, mais qu'elle considérait qu'elle n'avait pas de choix que d'agir selon les voeux du Parlement canadien. Et que les conséquences politiques ou les jugements sur les conventions constitutionnelles devraient amener une sanction - s'il devait y en avoir - par le peuple canadien, et pas par le Parlement britannique. Autrement dit, ce n'est pas à eux à dire aux Canadiens comment se conduire. Cela a toujours été sa position. Je ne sais pas si elle gardera cette position. Je compte bien que oui, mais nous le saurons après la réunion de lundi.

Q. Une supplémentaire, Monsieur le Premier ministre. Il y a une campagne de publicité de plus d'un million qui vient d'être lancée, au Québec, par le gouvernment fédéral. Comment conciliez-vous ça avec l'invitation que vous avez lancée aux provinces,lors de votre conférence de presse à Séoul, de négocier encore une entente minimale. Est-ce que ça n'est pas interprété comme un geste ... (inaudible)?

R. Il me semble que non. Depuis un an et demie que cette question est débattue. Nous n'avons pas fait de publicité. Nous voulions attendre d'abord que la question soit débattue au Parlement et que la Cour suprême rende son jugement. Le gouvernement québécois n'a pas attendu. Il a déjà dépensé - je ne sais pas s'il s'agit de millions - mais,certainement,les dépliants, les pancartes, la publicité écrite et parlée, depuis au-delà d'un an, a dû leur coûter pas mal cher. Et, dans ce cas-là, où, évidemment, la province de Québec, par son gouvernement, semble vouloir nous attaquer avec notre publicité, j'étais tout-à-fait d'accord avec la décision de M. Chrétien et du Caucus québécois, que nous n'allions pas attendre.

DANIEL LESSARD, RADIO-CANADA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, dans le discours que vous avez prononcé ce matin, vous avez parlé d'une "nouvelle moralité internationale" qui laisserait de côté (inaudible). Est-ce que, ma première question, ça visait quelqu'un en particulier et, deuxièmement

est-ce que c'est le message que vous allez porter à Cancun au nom du Commonwealth?

R. Je voudrais bien dire que c'est une idée neuve, et c'est une idée que j'explore et que j'expose depuis déjà quelques années. J'ai fait un discours au Mansion House, à Londres, il y a peut-être 8 ou 10 ans, où je disais ça. Lorsque la métaphysique change, la morale doit changer aussi. Et nous sommes maintenant dans un monde d'interdépendance et non pas d'Etats souverains, autonomes et indépendants les uns des autres. Et, par conséquent, la moralité publique doit s'adapter à cette nouvelle réalité philosophique. Et c'est dans ce sens-là que je disais... Theillard/ de Chardin exprimait la même idée, d'ailleurs. Lorsqu'il parle d'un monde où les gens sont serrés les uns contre les autres, on ne pourrait avoir la même conception de la fraternité et de l'amour. Je ne pense pas que ce soit une idée que j'exprime pour la première fois. Donc, je n'ai pas l'intention de faire de la philosophie à Cancun. Mais, ce que j'essayais de communiquer, c'est cette pensée qu'on ne peut juger le monde d'aujourd'hui avec les standards, les barèmes éthiques que l'on avaient autrefois. C'est une monde où on est beaucoup plus responsables du malheur ou du bonheur des autres. Et, il faut agir en conséquence.

Mais, encore une fois, il ne s'agissait pas surtout de faire de la philosophie, il s'agissait de reprendre une idée que j'ai exprimée même au Canada lorsque je parlais d'économie canadienne. Les gens disaient: "il nous faudrait un Keynes, il faudrait qu'un économiste nous explique comment reconcilier l'inflation et le chômage, qui apparaissent simultanément, alors qu'autrefois, ils alternaient." J'opinais que: "non, ce n'est pas un nouveau Keynes qu'il nous faut. C'est plutôt une nouvelle moralité, une nouvelle compréhension qu'il y a telle chose que le bien commun auquel il faut parfois sacrifier les biens particuliers. Et si tous les individus agissent comme des entités séparées, et en quelque sorte, irréponsables, dans une société, la somme de leurs demandes contre la société devient hors de portée, hors d'atteinte. Et les riches continueront toujours d'avoir plus de poids que les pauvres, et il n'y aura aucune justice.

Enfin, c'est cette sorte d'idée que j'essayais d'injecter dans le débat.

BRIAN KELLEHER, CBC RADIO: Q. Since the Supreme Court dismissed the question of what would constitute a consensus, I'm wondering (inaudible)

A. I think that problem is very real. I think the provinces will have to face it, or the Supreme Court will have to face it. But, to me, it doesn't make much sense to say there is a convention, but we don't know what the convention is. As is argued, I think, very effectively, by one of the Justices - I belive it was Friedman in the Manitoba judgement - you know, how can you say there is a convention, if you can't even spell out that convention. And, in a sense, what the Courts have done is to say there is a convention, and then what? Come back to us later and in each case, we'll tell you if 6 is enough, or if it should be 7, or whether you can do it with 5, or 3, if they represent a majority of the population?

That is a bit the position that the Courts have left the provinces in. We are not in that position because I've said: "when a convention doesn't make sense when a convention is used to prevent, during 54 years, a country from giving it independence to its people, then that convention must be changed, must be modified." But the Court says: no, there is a convention. And the provinces say: there's a convention and you must respect it. Of course my first question to them will be:

"well, what does the convention say". Mr. Lyon, I believe, said a convention is 10 provinces. I would imagine Mr. Lévesque would say: I don't care about the number, it would have to include me. And if he says that, why won't Peckford and Lougheed say the same thing. They will say: if Québec is allowed to have a veto, why should it be superior to Alberta or Newfoundland. And I'm afraid they will end up with a "convention"saying that change is only possible with unanimity. Then the Courts seem to say: well uninamity wasn't necessary. Some kind of a consensus was necessary. But what it is, no one knows. Mr. Bennett may have to tell us.

Q. Can I ask you what you think is a consensus, Mr. Trudeau?

A. Yes. I think a consensus could be the four regions of Canada. Some regions like Québec and Ontario would mean that, for instance, in the case of Québec, you would need, perhaps, some three million people to agree to a consensus. But in the case of the West, where the total population would be three million, well you would need perhaps a million and a half of the people to agree to a consensus. In other words, rather than weighting this in terms of inequality to the West, the inequality would be to the people of Québec and Ontario. More of them would be needed to create a consensus than the Westerners or

Easterners. But I'm getting into details. You sense that what I think would be a consensus would be what the provinces themselves agreed would be a consensus when in 1971, we agreed on the Victoria amending formula. But I've also said that the Victoria amending formula isn't my favourite formula. It's the one that the provinces all agreed to ten years ago. So I could easily accept other definitions of consensus.

One might be, for instance, six provinces representing 75% of the population. Then you wouldn't be singling out one province or another. You would just have to count heads. That would be another good example of consensus.

Q. Did Mr. Bennett indicate to you, last week, that he would be exploring this aspect with the other provinces, or did have any focus that he might come up with something?

A. No. I can't say that he did. Mind you, my conversations with Mr. Bennett... I'm not sure how you reported them, but we asked each other what we would do if we lost. And, of course, the position of Mr. Bennett and of the provinces is that if they lost in the Courts they would continue the fight. And I said: "well mine, if I lost, I certainly would withdraw the resolution.

And I would go to you and I would ask you what a consensus is." And he said: "well what would you say a consensus is?" And then I gave him my answer.

But, you know, we didn't lose. We won.

JIM TRAVERS, SOUTHAM NEWS: Q. Prime Minister, do you feel that the Supreme Court decision in favour of the (inaudible) on the fourth question in any way increases the risk or complicates your plans for patriation?

A. (ANSWER UNAVAILABLE DUE TO TECHNICAL BREAKDOWN.)

JIM MACLEAN, NEWSRADIO: Q. Prime Minister, could you tell the contents and the length of your discussions of your phone call last night to the Québec Caucus?

A. It was, I suppose 30 to 40 minutes. The purpose was quite simply because, every late Summer or early Fall, the Québec Caucus has been meeting for years, and years, and years, and I've always attended it. I'm sure many of you have been up there. Sometimes it's at Mont-Gabriel, and sometimes it's elsewhere. Now it's in Orford. So, because of the fact that I had to be at the Commonwealth meeting, they knew I couldn't attend, and the purpose was to indicate that I was sorry I wasn't there, but that I wished them well, first.

And second, to repeat our general position on the Constitution, and to answer questions they asked me about the Constitution. I don't think anything very secret was exchanged. The nature of a trans-Pacific phone call wouldn't lead us to broach any very deep Caucus secrets.

So, I don't think there's anything newsworthy to it, except that I said: "look, congratulations, Mr. Chrétien. They said that you and Mr.Justice were putting an illegal Resolution before Parliament. That was the essence of the provincial attack, and of Mr. Clark's attack. Congratulations! The Courts have said that you advised us well, that you acted within the law. "What about the convention", somebody said. Well, I was well placed to talk to them how conventions could be changed. I gave examples. One happened right here in Australia. There was a convention that the Governor General (unavailable because of technical breakdown)... And you will recall that that convention was changed, and Mr. Gough Whitlam ceased to be Prime Minister as a result of it. It was nothing illegal, it's just that they changed the convention. The other example I gave them was that of the incident in the House of Lords, but am I repeating myself?

(REMAINDER OF ANSWER AND NEXT QUESTION UNAVAILABLE DUE TO TECHNICAL BREAKDOWN)

Q. Apparently there is a report that the Québec Caucus is calling itself the Official Opposition in Quebec because of Mr. Ryan's position.

A. Well, what I indicated earlier was that, in terms of the constitutional resolution, it is justified in calling itself the Official Opposition because Mr. Ryan is not in opposition to Mr. Lévesque on it. But that doesn't mean that the Official Opposition, Mr. Ryan's party, won't continue to oppose Mr. Lévesque on many things concerning good government and concerning federalism.

MICHAEL VALPY, THE GLOBE AND MAIL: Q. If I could perhaps take (inaudible), could you tell me what is your most optimistic expectations are for Melbourne, vis-à-vis Cancun, and could you try to put into some kind of context what the Conference is doing here vis-à-vis Cancun?

A. The most useful we can do here is to create an expression, or to reach an expression of political will,which will be contained in a communiqué, which will influence other countries attending Cancun and countries not attending Cancun. We do represent a quarter of the human race, governments, and if we reach a consensus on some issues, I would think that consensus would have to be respected by - I don't say necessarily obeyed, but examined with considerable weight -

by other politicians and other countries.

You live in a world where you have to take into account that the other fellow, when he makes a political judgement and that political judgement is reflective of the feelings of some 45 nations, I would imagine it would political weight, both on those who are very skeptical about the utility of global negotiations and those who, on the other extreme, believe that countries of the North are not sincere and we shouldn't waste our time discussing improvement in North-South relations, we should go ahead with revolution or socialism, or whatever it is ... communism. I think it will be a moderating influence on those in the South who despair of the North, and those in the North who don't think they can do anything about the South.

Q. What are you hearing from your Third World colleagues. Do you think an expression of political will would be satisfactory to them or are you hearing an expectation of something more /concrete?

A. When I talk of political will, I don't just mean saying: "we must do something". We're

going to come out with communiqués, we always do, at the end of a Commonwealth Conference, saying: and here is what we think must be done. And we give some examples in the area of energy, or in the area of aid, or in the area of Commonwealth cooperation, and so on. We will be discussing all these subjects... (inaudible)

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH JIM MUNSON, OF CTV TELEVISION, IN CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1981

TRANSCRIPT DE L'ENTREVUE ACCORDEE PAR LE PREMIER MINISTRE A JIM MUNSON, DE CTV TELEVISION, A CANBERRA, AUSTRALIE, LE VENDREDI 2 OCTOBRE 1981

(To be aired on Canada A.M., Monday, October 5, 1981, at 7:50 a.m.)

(A être diffusée au programme Canada A.M., le lundi 5 octobre 1981, à 7h50)

Q. Prime Minister, there seems to be a slight change in your attitude. We have been informed that you now perhaps want to see Mr. Bennett, in Vancouver on Friday. You had said up to this point that you were waiting for the Premiers to come back to you with proposals. If you were going to go and see him perhaps without proposals, why this slight change in attitude, Prime Minister?

A. Well, I'll be flying over Vancouver and I think I'd like to satisfy myself that they have some proposals or not because, as you know, we'll be meeting Parliament within a few days after Friday and our plan is to go ahead with the Joint Resolution as soon as Parliament is brought back. And it seems so obvious that I should hear from the Chairman of the Premiers' Conference whether or not we are reaching some consensus, some change of positions. If there is none, of course, then it will be easy to proceed. But if there is some considerable consensus developing towards some

modification of their position that we can expect. And I, as I've indicated, they consider delaying the debate for a few days...

Q. I was just going to say that: If there's modification in their proposals, will you debate that Joint Resolution?

A. That is what I would intend to recommend to my colleague, Mr. Chrétien and Cabinet in general. If Mr. Bennett, on behalf of all the Premiers he has had time to see, he says: Look, you say you won't, they don't agree. / Now you seem determined to go ahead. We will prepare to discuss a few certain changes - whatever it is, the bill of rights or the timing, and so on - then, I would want to have heard him.

Q. Would you give the Provinces a couple of more weeks, a little more time? Are you prepared to wait about if you find Mr. Bennett on Friday to say: Yes, I do have all these proposals and ideas from nine other different men, but I do need more time, Prime Minister? Are you prepared to give him a couple of more weeks and then to hold off and to slow the process that you have intimidated right now?

A. It really would depend what his record was on behalf of the Premiers. If he were able to say that having

seen the Premiers, they were prepared to... Look, go for the bill of rights providing you modify or if you change that, but we want to negotiate it more and we haven't quite finalized our position and we need a couple of weeks. The answer would be yes. But if it's just: Look, we're not decided yet. We haven't been able to look at it thoroughly. We need enough, another few weeks to study the judgment and consult amongst ourselves, but we don't know if at the end we're going to have any concrete proposals. Then I wouldn't wait.

Q. The stance of this whole trip - and I think it's a deliberate stance - has been a rather low-key approach. The stance that you would allow the Provinces to speak, is that deliberate on your behalf?

A. Yes. Now in having the satisfaction of knowing that the federal resolution is legal and that there will be no legal impediments to it, either in Canada or in Britain, I'm quite happy and I intend to proceed, as I say, with due caution. But caution means seeing if there's any last-minute possibility of compromise. But if there is not, then our timing is set and I won't see any reason to change it. It's low-key in that sense that just by an accident of timing, the Supreme Court came out with their decision declaring that our actions were legal with a few weeks to spare before Parliament sat down.

So I'm trying to give the Provinces a chance, during those two weeks, to come up with some other petitions.

A. I know you've been busy here, Prime Minister, with the Commonwealth Conference, but I've been told that the majority of news editorials back in the country are stating that: Premier Minister, slow down. There is a message in the Supreme Court Decision. Perhaps, you've won. People are saying anyway both sides have lost. But they're saying slow down the process. Are you willing to be a stateman in this affair right now and to slow down the process and to yourself initiate that First Ministers' Conference? But everybody seems to want that again.

A. I don't think the two are compatible. I can't be a statesman and slow down just for the purpose of slowing down. I think it's my duty now to give to the Canadian people what the court said we could give them legally and which the Provinces, for 54 years, have said we're going to hold it up. My duty is to give them the resolution and the bill of rights that we've been talking about, that we've been promising for the past years to the people that they would get if our actions were legal. And, if anything, the menu here in Canberra and Melbourne is to do something else and that is the statesmanlike position. You know, I'm surrounded by prime ministers and presidents who fought for years, sometimes bent backward

for independence. And suddenly, I've been given the green light by the Supreme Court. You don't have to fight, you don't need a civil war, you don't have to bend the law. You can do it legally. And you, Prime Minister, now you're not going to go ahead and do it? You're going to wait when you had been trying to do since September a year ago, you're going to wait some more? Until what? You know I think that would be very unstatesmanlike.

Q. So what will you do with the issue of Quebec? As you know, Mr. Ryan, at least 30 of his MLA's have supported Mr. Levesque in condemning the government's unilateral action and demand that you hold off until you have a First Ministers' conference. You find that disturbing, does that put you in any corner?

A. But it's not what Mr. Ryan has been saying for the past year. It's not exactly what Mr. Ryan has been saying since 1968, since I've been Prime Minister. He has been saying you shouldn't patriate unless you give more powers to Quebec. And that's been Mr. Ryan's position for some 14 years now and that's what he advised Mr. Bourassa at Victoria: Don't permit patriation because Quebec needs more powers. So I'm not surprised. But what does please me is that Mr. Ryan, I'm told, is able to sit down with Mr. Lévesque and come out with a resolution which doesn't attack the core or the root of federalism.

It just says what Mr. Ryan has always said: Don't do it now. Do it later. Wait a while, and so on. So, I'm not surprised...

Q. But you're in for a big fight here. I mean you're dealing with 101 men and women who are trying telling you in a way that they would like to have more guarantees for the Province of Quebec before you implement your constitutional program, to make it more lax.

A. Well, I know, but they are provincial men and women who are elected provincially and who see it as part of the bargaining process to get more powers from the federal government before they permit patriation. But what is new and what is different? I mean Mr. Peckford was saying the same thing with the support of his party in Newfoundland. And Mr. Buchanan, the same thing. And Mr. Ryan, the same. They've got (inaudible) to think of, just as all those provincial members behind them. But I have all my federal members behind me and I don't believe in this kind of open-end negotiation. We will permit you to give the Canadian people their constitution providing you give us more powers.

Q. But Mr. Lévesque will make miles out of this, having the Liberal people in his camp, the federalists in his camp on this particular subject, don't you think? Well, there will be a big fight and...

A. Will it? Do you see the Quebec people or any other people of any province in Canada saying basically: We don't want a Canadian constitution and basically don't want a bill rights and basically we don't want language rights, unless my provincial premier grabs more jurisdiction over fisheries, more jurisdiction over culture. Well, naturally, when you're negotiating you're trying to get as much as you can. And naturally, it's the job of provincial politicians to get more power for their province.

Q. And you think that one might not.

A. Well, my chips are down. I don't think people are going to say well: We can't get more powers, therefore we don't want our own constitution. We don't want to be independent. We don't want to have our fundamental rights guaranteed. And that's naturally their judgment. And, if I'm wrong, the Canadian people will defeat our party at the next election and they will change the constitution and they will get rid of the bill of rights. They can even send the constitution back to Britain, I mean if they want to push the logic to extreme. So I'm not doing anything irreversible for the country. I'm just saying it's my political judgment that after 54 years of failure, because we tried for consultation, the people of Canada which includes the people of every province, will not

say: Well, let's defeat the Liberals because they gave us our constitution and they gave us a bill of rights. And I say I'm prepared to take that gamble. But if they do defeat us on that basis, they may elect a party - I don't know if it will be Mr. Clark's - but if he wants to say: Elect me, defeat Trudeau and elect me and I will get rid of the bill of rights and I will even - if you want - send the constitution back to Great Britain - well, I'll have a great laugh and I think I'd win the election.

Q. Just two quick questions... Have you given any thought at all at this point to holding your own referendum, have the people
or has it gone to the point...

A. No, but you will recall that in the resolution which is before the House now and which we intend sending to Great Britain, we said if there can be no agreement between the provinces and the federal government on the amending formula, then we will hold a referendum and we'll ask the people to choose. I'm absolutely certain that people want the constitution. I'm not absolutely certain that they prefer my amending formula to Mr. Lougheed's for instance, but for that opting out. But that's why I say: If you want, if we can't agree in the next two years, we'll then ask the

people: Which do you prefer? The Lougheed formula or the Victoria formula, the one that we put forth in 1971. And the people will choose. So, there may well be a referendum where the people will be able to express their opinion. But, as I repeat, I'm gambling that once the deed is done and the constitution is here and there is an amending formula the Premiers are going to say the jig is up. We wanted more jurisdiction over fisheries, and in the case of Quebec we wanted more jurisdiction over social services, culture. But our bluff hasn't worked. The constitution is here. So now let's sit down to business and talk about the future rather than trying to undo the past. That's my political judgment. And, as I say, I don't have any message from the Holy Ghost that this will win the next election, but I'm prepared to gamble that it will.

Q. Prime Minister, thanks very much.

Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, OCTOBER 5, 1981, 5:30 P.M. (3:30 A.M., OCTOBER 5, 1981, OTTAWA)

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A MELBOURNE (AUSTRALIE), LE 5 OCTOBRE 1981, A 17h30, (03H30, LE 5 OCTOBRE 1981, OTTAWA)

Mr. Trudeau: I have the statement that the British released, I believe, about an hour ago. Is it in your hands? All right, then I won't read this whole statement. I'll just read what I think is a significant paragraph and then supplement the rest of it in question and answers.

"Mr. Trudeau indicated that on his return to Canada, he would be consulting with his colleagues in the federal government and the spokesman for the provincial Premiers." That's Premier Bennett that I'm hoping to see next Friday. "Subject to the outcome of these consultations, his government would invite the Canadian Parliament to approve a Resolution and draft Bill, basically the measure which is before Parliament now, subject to the possibility of modifications in the light of those consultations. If the Resolution and draft Bill were approved by the Canadian Parliament, they would be then sent to the Queen so that the Bill could be presented for enactment by the British Parliament." And then Mrs. Thatcher confirmed that. "Following the ruling of the Supreme Court on the legality of what was proposed, the British government would introduce at Westminster the legislation duly requested", and so on.

Et en français, je crois que c'est en voie de traduction, puisque les Britanniques et nous nous sommes mis d'accord sur ce texte il y a seulement 1 heure, à la suite de ma rencontre avec Mme Thatcher.

J'ai indiqué que, dès mon retour au Canada, je consulterais mes collègues du Cabinet et le porte-parole des Premiers ministres provinciaux, c'est-à-dire M. Bennett, que je compte voir vendredi prochain. Et, sujet au résultat de ces consultations, que nous inviterions le Parlement canadien à approuver la résolution et la mesure que nous discutons depuis plusieurs mois et que, s'il y a des amendements qui surgissent à la suite de la rencontre, nous modifierons cette résolution. Si le Parlement approuve cette résolution, nous l'enverrons en Grande-Bretagne, et que le Parlement britannique sera saisi par le gouvernement britannique de la mesure, qui est maintenant jugée légale.

So, in essence, that is what Madame Thatcher and myself discussed. We found it useful, this time, to have a statement that we could both put out so that there would be no danger of the confusion which arose after I met her in June of 1980. So, this time, we have agreed on this statement, and I think it speaks for itself.

JIM TRAVERS, SOUTHAM NEWS: Q. Prime Minister, did Mrs. Thatcher give any indication as to whether or not she would be willing to wave the whip to get the resolution through Westminster...(inaudible)?

A. We didn't talk about whips, this time. But you will see in the second of last paragraph that I'm leaving the timetable to her, since the early argumentation says it is a matter which might be opposed by some of the backbenchers and I'm relying on her to proceed to the best of her own judgement. But, she did make the point several times that she wanted to deal with it soon and as effectively as possible, and indicated that even in terms of Canadian-British relations it would be important that this matter be dealt with as soon as possible. But, once again, the timing of it and the exact parliamentary procedure, I believe that I was correct in letting her be the judge of that.

BRIAN KELLEHER, CBC RADIO: Q. ...(inaudible), is it correct to assume that her own priorities...(inaudible) would take priority, in other words, that she should go ahead with her own program first, before getting in to Canada's problems ... (inaudible) is there any deadline or timetable beyond which you would start expecting ...(inaudible)

A. Well, first, I would say that it is certainly conceivable to me that they could deal with two measures at the same time. But, I certainly wouldn't want to express concern if I felt that the British Prime Minister was dealing with it, as I know she would, in good faith. I think we make it clear in this statement that she has to be the judge of her own timetable. I indicated, of course, my preference for an early resolution of this so that we could get on to discuss others matters than the Constitution, particularly economic matters, so that this thing can be put out of Canadians minds for a while. But, beyond my saying that and her saying that she would deal with it as soon as possible, there was no exact date set by her or by me.

DANIEL LESSARD, RADIO-CANADA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, est-ce que Mme Thatcher a été en mesure de vous donner des précisions supplémentaires sur ce qu'elle appelle des difficultés qu'elle peut rencontrer ... (inaudible). Est-ce que ça ne pourrait pas devenir à ce moment-là, pour elle, une façon de retarder la décision pour ne pas empiéter sur ses propres priorités?

R. Elle ne m'a donné aucune indication quant au nombre de gens qui s'y opposeraient. Je pense que c'est ce que nous voulions dire, l'un et l'autre, lorsque nous avons indiqué, dans le communiqué, que moi, je

me fierais à son bon jugement en la matière. Si elle juge que c'est plus facile d'avoir un appui plus fort en attendant quelques jours, alors je pense qu'elle serait sage d'attendre quelques jours, plutôt que d'avoir l'impression d'imposer une date rigoureuse. Mais, l'important, c'est qu'elle m'a dit, à plusieurs reprises, qu'elle voulait procéder aussitôt que possible, et que moi, je laisserais à son jugement de dire qu'est-ce qui était mieux dans ce domaine-là, et qu'il a précisé qu'elle estimait que c'était dans le meilleur intérêt des relations Canada-Britanniques que cette chose-là soit classée le plus tôt possible.

Q. Si vous me permettez une supplémentaire, est-ce que vous avez l'intention de vous-même, ou M. Chrétien, ou M. Joyal, de retourner à Londres ... (inaudible)

R. Moi, je n'ai aucun projet dans ce sens. Je ne connais pas de projets précis de M. Chrétien, mais, si la chose s'avère nécessaire, je pense qu'il envisagerait un voyage, si c'était nécessaire. Et là encore, je m'en remets un peu au bon jugement de Mme Thatcher. Il se peut que les Britanniques n'aient pas besoin de visite, puisque le Chef du gouvernement britannique se dit satisfaite sur la question de légalité, qui était la seule qui importait. Et, si c'est un peu la situation là-bas, nous n'aurons pas besoin de faire de visite.

FRANCINE BASTIEN, RADIO-CANADA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, avez-vous demandé précisement à Mme Thatcher d'adopter cette résolution pendant la première session du Parlement, mais dans un échéancier précis, et vous a-t-elle répondu ... (inaudible)

R. Je ne lui ai pas demandé cela aujourd'hui. Il y a fort longtemps, nous lui avions indiqué que nous espérions que la résolution sera adoptée dans ce qui s'appelle la fin de la session, la fin de la session qui doit commencer, je crois, le 21 octobre et durer, quoi, dix, douze jours. On nous a dit, il y a plusieurs mois, que la possibilité d'en traiter dans cette fin de session était très mince, et que, plus probablement, ils en traiteraient dans la nouvelle session qui doit commencer, je pense, dans la première moitié de novembre. Et c'est ce qui est exprimé ici. Mais je ne suis pas revenu, aujourd'hui, sur ce sujet. C'est elle même qui nous met en garde qu'il ne faut pas s'attendre que la fin de session décide de cette matière.

Q. Quels sont les délais qui, à votre avis et aux yeux du Canada, indiqueront la volonté ...(inaudible)

R. Je pense que c'est une question de jugement. Si on s'aperçoit que, de bonne foi, ils font de leur mieux pour aller de l'avant, je ne me plaindrai sûrement pas. Je me souviens que moi-même, quand nous avions introduit cette mesure, en octobre de l'an dernier, nous pensions bien qu'en décembre, ce serait fini. Et, un an plus tard, c'est à peine fini. Alors, je prendrai garde moi-même de ne pas lui imposer un échéancier, quand moi-même, je n'ai pas été capable de suivre le mien. C'est une question de bonne foi. Je pense que, si on regarde notre action, au gouvernement canadien, on peut voir que nous avons fait de notre mieux pour aller le plus vite possible ...

Q. ... (inaudible) ... alors vous donnez donc un an ... (inaudible)

R. Un an?

Q. Oui, un an.

R. Mais non, vous avez mal compris. J'ai dit que <u>nous</u> avons mis un an quand nous pensions mettre seulement la moitié de ce temps. Si elle met deux fois le temps qu'elle avait prévu, et que ce temps prévu est trois jours, je n'ai pas d'objection.

PAUL RACINE, RADIO MUTUEL: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, Où en sont vos négociations (inaudible) avec le Premier ministre de la Colombie-Britannique pour une rencontre vendredi?

R. Je ne peux pas vous dire précisément, sauf que j'ai offert formellement d'arrêter mon avion en Colombie-Britannique, vendredi prochain, à mon retour au Canada, et de passer le temps qu'il faudrait, quelques heures, avec lui, pour recevoir son rapport sur ses consultations auprès des Premiers ministres provinciaux.

JIM MACLEAN, NEWSRADIO: Q. Prime Minister, (inaudible) Have you had any word from Premier Bennett on whether he wants to meet with you or has agreed to meet on your return to Canada?

A. I haven't received any confirmation of the hour, the date or the place of the meeting. I've just told him that I would be available, that I would be flying through, that I hope he would be able to see me. And I expect he will. As you know, Parliament resumes its sittings Wednesday of next week, and since we intend proceeding with this at the very outset of Parliament, unless I have cause to believe that the Premiers are changing their position, it would be important that I meet him in that short period of time. And Friday seems a convenient date.

Q. (inaudible)

A. Well, no. Not a last chance, because ... you must recall that even this Constitution will not be unchangeable. On the contrary, as soon as the Constitution is back in Canada, at last it will be changeable, and with rules which will be set and which will be defined for the next two years by provincial unanimity. So the Constitution will be changed, and as I've said before, if the Canadian people don't like the Bill of Rights, or they don't like parts of it, surely there will be Opposition parties, Mr. Clark's, Mr. Broadbent's, to campaign in the next election, saying: Elect us to form the government and we will, whatever it is, abolish the Bill of Rights, or rewrite it in a way which is more Canadian, and so on.

My own Party, after some months and years of application, may well seek constitutional amendments to improve the Bill or Rights, or to be more detailed or less specific in some areas. So, it's not their last chance.

Q. But in this process?

A. In this process, we would have to have some signal of change before Parliament

reconvenes, as I say, Wednesday of next week. I think Mr. Bennett has some difficulty with the fact that one Premier is out of the country - Premier Lougheed, I believe. Well, Premier Lougheed, Premier Davis and myself are out of the country - I think there is some question of whether Premier Lougheed will have been back for enough time for the consultations. But you know, I don't have to have Mr. Bennett telling me that:I've seen the ten Premiers and they all agree. If he's seen nine and they all agree, or most of them agree, on a subject, of something I think is negotiable, then we can have a meeting together. But, on the contrary, if he has seen nine and eight of the nine don't want any movement at all, it's of little avail to be told that maybe Premier Lougheed does.

So, you know, we don't have to have the result of perfect consultation.

JOHN FERGUSON, CANADIAN PRESS: Q. Prime Minister, the joint release says that Mrs. Thatcher pointed out to you there was opposition in attacking Britain's provincial position, and says "that concern would be strengthened by the Supreme Court's ruling that it was not in accordance with constitutional convention". How should we understand that word "convention"? Does that imply that there is somehow an increase in the opposition there? That it's somehow growing? And would that affect the length of time which you mentioned ... (inaudible)?

A. I don't know. She is just pointing out that she has had trouble with her backbenchers, with some of the backbenchers,and that some of them would use the pretext of the conventions to say: Well, it may be legal but we think it's not conventional, and therefore don't do it. I mean, she is fairly pointing out that there are some difficulties. And I think you have my answer if you care to go on to the next paragraph were I'm saying, in essence, the Courts have said that the legality is clear, the conventionality is not. And they make it clear that conventions are a political matter, not a matter for law, but they are a matter for politicians and that politicians have to take the consequences if they break conventions. And, of course, I'm prepared to take the consequences. And, if I lose the next election because I brought the Constitution home with a Bill of Rights, then I'll take the consequences of that. But I don't think it's for the British Parliamentarians to say: You know, we don't like the provinces to be shoved around,and therefore we will tell the Canadian government how it should act even when it acts within the law. Because if Britain were to, or if even the backbenchers in Britain were to take that point of view, they would have a lot of worry looking at the various countries around the world, seeing people being pushed around , and saying: Well, it may be legal, but we've got to speak up for whatever it is, this minority or that state, in the

United States, that doesn't like federal legislation, and so on.

Do you see my point? I mean, if it's a political question, as of course it is , and not a legal one, then it's for the politicians in Canada to fight it out. It's not for the politicians in Britain to say what is good for Canadian politics.

Q. Yes, sir, I see your point. But I'm trying to get some kind of reading on what she told about the strength of the opposition ... (inaudible) Did you get any indication of that ?

A. No. This matter was mentioned, it was barely discussed. She said: "I've had problems in the past, and these problems won't go away because the Courts have this bit on conventions." And I said: That's fair enough. You know even the provinces in Canada, the moment they went into the Courts and they began to lose in Manitoba and then in Québec, they said: Even if we lose everything, we are going to continue the fight, because it's a political fight. Do you remember the challenge? I said: If I lose, I will withdraw the measure. They said if they lose, they would continue the fight. So now they say they haven't exactly lost, it's a saw-off or even that they won. But they've given that away by telling us for the past eight months that even if they lost everything, 9-0, they would still continue the fight, so one shouldn't

be surprised if they are / continuing the fight. And I think Margaret Thatcher is telling me the same thing for the backbenchers in the British Parliament. They were determined to cause the Canadian government trouble in this, because they feel that they should be looking after Canadian affairs. And they were going to do that, and the provinces had all announced that they were all going over to Britain, win, lose or draw.

So, and naturally, she is saying: And now that you've won legally, but there's something on conventionality, it's not the gentlemanly thing to do, they are going to be reinforcing their opposition.

Q. What I'm really getting at is ...

A. I don't know what you're really getting at.

Q. It's the number of those who oppose ...

A. I have no idea. I don't think they do either. I don't think "increase" is used in this sense. I think it means that those who are looking for an excuse to tell Canadians what it is good and proper for Canadians to do, I think now they will use this argument as an excuse to do so. I think that's probably how you read

the strength of that concern would be strengthened. They are going to have this argument.

JIM MUNSON, CTV: Q. Sir, did you just say a moment ago that you were going to run in the next election? You seemed to imply that in your previous answer to Mr. Ferguson, that you would run.

(Inaudible)

A. Me or my party, I guess.

DAVID HALTON, CBC: Q. Prime Minister, I noticed that in the statement of the British government ... (inaudible)... to confirm with British sources... (inaudible) ...deal with this as soon as possible....(inaudible)

A. Have British sources told you that,or are you just making it up! ... well I'll be as candid as they were. (inaudible)... as soon as possible. Mrs. Thatcher said: I will deal with it as soon as possible. But, for heaven's sake, let's not put the words in because Members of Parliament have their dignity and they want to be consulted on the speed and everything else. So I said: Well take that out if it helps you ... you know, I thought that was covered in the last paragraph, and the second to last paragraph, about the question of timing. But you know, I bow to you on questions of timing. But if they themselves are putting the line that that's what was there, I don't mind (inaudible) because I also have her word to deal with it as soon as possible.

But, you know, not to ruin the whole argument, it shouldn't be taken as an expression that she is going to force the British Parliamentarians to adhere to a specific deadline. And that's, I repeat, what the second of last paragraph reads.

Q. (inaudible)

A. She really did not give any undertaking as to a number of days or a number of weeks for that matter. She said she would deal with it as soon as possible, but that I would have to accept her judgement, and that of Whip's,and of the British Cabinet, as to when they could do it in a way which would be most effective in terms of getting it through, and which would cause the least damage to Canadian-British relations. But there was no undertaking, on her part, to a specific number of days, nor did, as I said earlier, was there the expression used that she would put the whips on at a specific moment in time. The point is that it is the British Government which will introduce, at Westminster, the legislation, and therefore it is a government measure, and one has to assume that when the British government introduces a measure, the passage of which is important for good relations between our countries, they will do it as best they can.

MICHAEL VALPEY (GLOBE & MAIL) Q. Sir, I am assuming that you probably talked to Mrs. Thatcher about the political work that had to be done, and I wonder if there was any talk as to who would have to do the job of softening up the backbench MP's who are opposed (inaudible). Are you going to leave this in Mrs. Thatcher's hands or is your government still going to do some lobbying of backbench MP's? Or how is this ...?

A. Well, the only aspect of that which was dealt with is the British Government's answer to the Kershaw Report -- that is, the report of her government to this Report of a Special Committee on whatever it was, External Relations, and I answered that question: When will you publish that? Because that it is doing the work that the British Government should be doing with its Members of Parliament, and I have always held that it was better for the British Parliamentarians to educate themselves than to have the Provinces lobbying over there, or for that matter the federal government. So that was my only question. And her answer was, she would want to review it a little bit now to take into account the Judgement of the Court, but that she intended publishing it soon. I did not ask when "soon" was, but obviously it is part of her strategy.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. I never had that intention.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Yes. And I said earlier that maybe Mr. Chretien might have to go over, or other Ministers. Something rubs me the wrong way, of thinking that the Prime Minister of a sovereign country like Canada has to go over and explain why what the courts have judged is legal is something that the British Parliament should view with a (inaudible). I had not ruled it out, but as I answered quite clearly I have no intention at this time to do anything of the kind.

Q. (Inaudible) ... Did she give you any sort of indication as to what sort of (inaudible)?

A. No, she did not. Don't they think this is great news? I mean, now it is in writing. You can't say: Did you really say that, and what did she really answer? And whether those telegrams that were leaked today ... but I think she knew we were ... you know, Lord Carrington was giving a press conference half an hour ago, I'm giving one now ... we took those chances that you people would triangulate between us.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. With the media?

Q. (Inaudible)

A. I know, they can't believe that Canadians are so dumb as to not give themselves their constitution after 54 years of effort. I don't know if any of this has been reported to you, but the number of people in open conference at the plenary sessions who have con-

gratulated us on the result and expressed disbelief that we were not quite independent yet and urged us to get on with it...you know, it can only be handwringers like the Canadian people who can have .... remember the doubts we had about the flag? Ten months of debate, or something. And remember how many years we have been trying to get the words agreed to the National Anthem. We must be an extremely rich and fortunate country to be able to waste all these physical and mental energies on questions that can be solved so easily, mustn't we?

JIM MUNSON I guess so, sir. Great news

BRIAN KELLEHER (CBC RADIO-NEWS) Prime Minister, could I ask (inaudible) specific changes to the Charter, or a combination of the two, or one or the other?

A. Can I put the record on again. You know, I answered that a few times and I won't give any more examples. We don't intend changing the thrust of our resolution. We think we had better have the fight with the provinces now (rather) than let it drag out another five months, five years, and so on. If the provinces want to have that fight at all costs, and I am told that some of them are quite rigid, that they made it quite clear that there is no coming back on any position and that was it. I hope that won't be the case when I

meet Premier Bennett. But if it is, well,as I say, we may as well get it over with. But you asked for examples. I gave some. I said, for instance, if the Bill of Rights contains some provisions which the provinces feel inapplicable, or would create difficulty in law and administration, we are not unreasonable. We will change some of the provisions of it. And the same thing, I think I gave Paul Racine an example of the French language, if the Quebec Government, which agreed at St. Andrews in New Brunswick, that the school system should protect the English minority in Quebec, and the French minorities elsewhere, and that is what I tried to put into the Constitutional Resolution. If they can find better words of expressing that,which are less offensive to Quebec or to some other provinces, I am prepared to look at them.

JIM MACLEAN (NEWSRADIO) (Inaudible) Do you fly on to Ottawa, or do you stop at Vancouver and say: Here I am ...?

A. And see my mother-in-law? Well, I am not going to open my parachute to see Premier Bennett if he does not want to see me. I think it's a mischievous question, isn't it?

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Do you think he would?

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, OCTOBER 7, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE A LA CONCLUSION DE LA CONFERENCE DU COMMONWEALTH A MELBOURNE (AUSRTALIE), LE 7 OCTOBRE 1981

PAUL RACINE, RADIO-MUTUEL: ...(inaudible) dans le communiqué, on a l'impression que c'est un peu dilué. Alors qu'est-ce qui, dans votre esprit, caractérise surtout la conclusion de ce Sommet des chefs du Commonwealth?

R. Je regrette, M. Racine, mais je n'ai pas lu le communiqué, alors je ne peux pas vous répondre. Ce qui ressort du communiqué, je ne sais pas, je pense que c'est cent pages de toutes sortes de choses. C'est plutôt à vous, les journalistes, de décider ce qui est important, et ce qui est inutile.

Q. Bon. Eh bien, dans ce cas-là, vous allez à Cancun prochainement, dans quelques semaines. Après ce que vous avez vu et entendu ici, quel message vous apportez à Cancun avec collègues du Commonwealth qui y seront?

R. Eh bien, que les pays (inaudible) qui sont en grand nombre ici, espèrent qu'il y aura un projet réel à Cancun, et que dans deux ou

trois domaines en particulier, ils veulent des signes d'avance assez nets, dans le domaine de la filiale énergétique, dans le domaine de programmes relatifs à l'alimentation, et également sur la question des négociations globales. C'est ce qui est ressorti simplement des discussions. Je ne sais pas à quel point cela ressort, ou nous saute aux yeux dans le texte, mais il y a certainement un encouragement de 7 des membres du Commonwealth qui seront à Cancun de tenir bon sur l'importance de procéder avec des négociations globales.

CARL ROBINSON, NEWSWEEK, AUSTRALIE: Q. All during this Conference, the developing countries, if anything, have been probably too hopeful on the results of Cancun, whereas both you and Mrs. Thatcher (inaudible) for the developed countries seem to be trying to dampen that enthusiasm. What sort of advice would you give to the participants of Cancun, and what do you think is the minimum that can be expected from that meeting?

A. The minimum?

That all of us understand a little more deeply the importance of making progress on the North-South dialogue. And that may be the minimum that will result from it. That the participants there, from twenty-three nations, agree to sit around a table

and deal with this subject. And if we do that, I think we'll make some progress.

Q. ...(inaudible) any specifics, Mr. Prime Minister?

R. That would be a little than the minimum. If we can reach agreement on the establishment on the establishment of an energy affiliate of the World Bank, if we could begin the process, or accept to begin the process of global negotiations, I think that this would profitable indeed. And if we could make some specific decisions on the subject of food, which is high on the agenda, I think it would be useful. But I am not being cynical. I think that the important thing at Cancun is that the people who are there are there. I'm thinking particularly, of course, of the President of the United States and of the Prime Minister of China. These are big countries which are accepting to join the discussion aimed at solving some of the difficulties in the North-South dialogue. And I am happy that they are coming to the table and I hope that we will do all within our power to keep them at the table.

DAVID HALTON (CBC - TV) Q. Prime Minister, in a text that was handed out by the Commonwealth Secretariat

there is mention of the fact that it was intended that the Communiqué send several signals to the U.S. on the global economic dialogue. Reading through the Communiqué, there is no mention of the United States' positions on the various issues of the North-South dialogue, except by various implicit reference, and I'm wondering if this isn't a rather weak lead signal to be sending to the U.S. on the eve of Cancun and, in line with the previous question, do you really expect this meeting to have much impact on President Reagan's position at Cancun, given the fact that his administration is opposed to many if not most of the proposals which the Commonwealth has come up with in this document, whether it's the energy affiliate or whatever?

A. I have to begin by telling you what I've told Paul Racine: that I have not read the Communiqué. I sat through some seven or eight days of discussions around it, and I was there, of course, during the final stage of including or not including some square brackets,but I really can't give you an argument on what the Communiqué says. I do know that there was very firm positions taken,during this discussion, on the importance of making progress in specific areas: food and agriculture, energy, financial institutions, the energy affiliate and global

negotiations. Now, if you see something in the text which is less than a strong message, so be it. That isn't the impression I got from participating in the dialogue.

Q. Well, put it this way, sir, are you confident that President Reagan can be swayed at Cancun to change his position on issues like the energy affiliate and global negotiations?

A. I bet you nobody would be swayed by reading 100 pages of the Communiqué issued in Melbourne. And I don't expect the President of the United States would. I imagine if he's going to be swayed at all, it will be by the persuasion of his fellow participants at Cancun, and by, I would think, his respect for the political opinion of many of the participants there. or else why would he go to Cancun if he doesn't intend to explain the (inaudible) the United States' position and to receive from them explanations as to their position. And there's no doubt that President Reagan has a great sense of the mood and the feeling of the American people. But it's also important, I think, that in this kind of a forum that he get a sense of the feelings and the mood of the people in the room.

Q. Prime Minister, when you get around to read the Communiqué, would you expect to find, in the section on the Middle-East, some mention of the assassination that happened in Cairo yesterday?

A. No.

Q. Any desire to put it in there by anybody, or any opposition to doing so?

A. I heard no argument for doing it or any suggestion that it be done, or any opposition to it. When I arrived in the room, this morning, there was a draft statement issued on behalf of the Commonwealth meeting. This was sending our sympathy to Sadat's family, I believe, and expressing our horror at the event.

FRANCINE BASTIEN, RADIO-CANADA: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, (inaudible) à des questions plus (inaudible) ...nationale, mais nous avons appris que l'invitation que vous avez lancée, hier, aux Premiers ministres, de vous rencontrer mardi semble, de la part de la majorité d'entre eux, être conditionnelle à la rencontre au préalable avec M. Bennett. Autrement dit, les Premiers ministres voudraient d'abord savoir ce que vous et M. Bennett aurez conclu avant de vous rencontrer. Est-ce que cette prise de position change votre foi à votre offre, (inaudible)?

R. Non. M. Bennett a été choisi par les Premiers ministres provinciaux pour agir comme leur porte-parole. C'est pourquoi je le rencontre en premier lieu. J'ai exprimé le voeu qu'à la suite de cette rencontre, M. Bennett convainque ses commettants de l'importance d'une autre réunion, mais je ne peux pas les forcer de venir à table.

Q. Mais est-ce que ce n'est pas quand même logique pour les Premiers ministres d'avoir d'abord le point de vue de M. Bennett. Est-ce que ce n'est pas... ce n'est pas considéré comme être déraisonnable?

R. Non, non. C'est très logique. Et c'est pourquoi je vois M. Bennett et que je lui donne le temps de faire
provinciaux.

Q. C'est-à-dire que vous pourriez repousser l'échéancier de mardi pour conférence des Premiers ministres?

R. Alors, vous parlez de l'hypothèse où M. Bennett, entre lundi après-midi et mardi ...

Q. ...n'a pas le temps de faire rapport aux Premiers ministre entre lundi et mardi.

R. Mais nous ne sommes pas à un jour près. S'ils ne veulent pas faire ça mardi et qu'ils veulent faire ça mercredi, je n'ai vraiment pas d'objection. Ce à quoi j'ai des objections, c'est qu'on s'embarque dans des délais interminables dont nous sommes victimes depuis plusieurs - je vais répéter - depuis 54 ans. Et j'ai fait la comparaison l'autre jour, avec des négociations en (inaudible) conventions collectives. Je pense que quand nous arrivons à la fin des négociations, il ne faut pas ajourner(inaudible). Il faut siéger toute la journée et toute la nuit, et toute l'autre journée et toute l'autre nuit, pour en finir avec ce sujet, afin, encore une fois, que les gouvernements provinciaux et fédéral puissent passer à autres choses, et que le peuple canadien puisse dire: ouf!, enfin on est indépendants. Ces gens-là ont fini par s'entendre, ou par ne pas s'entendre. Mais, enfin, on sait à quoi s'en tenir.

Q. Etant donné que vous êtes le chef d'un grand pays, qui a de grandes ressources,

(inaudible) en faveur des pays sous-développés ... (inaudible) de l'immigration dans votre pays .... (inaudible) ... d'un pays bilingue ...(inaudible)

R. Oui. Vous avez raison, mais je pense que si j'ai à discuter le nombre, cette politique rationnelle existe. Dans le cas d'immigration de pays bilingues ou francophones, nous l'encourageons fortement. En particulier, nous voudrions voir venir au Canada des immigrants parlant le français, comme c'est le cas des citoyens de (inaudible).

Alors, pour ce qui est des critères pour la politique de l'immigration, il s'agit d'avoir un certain nombre de qualificafis, dont la connaissance de l'une ou l'autre langue officielle est importante. Et un immigrant en perspective, s'il a la connaissance d'une de ces deux langues-là, s'il a niveau d'éducation, si sa santé est raisonnablement bonne, s'il a des perspectives à se trouver de l'emploi et, finalement, s'il a de la famille, tout ça, ce sont des points qui s'ajoutent. Parce qu'il y a beaucoup de chômage au Canada, il faut plus de points, de sorte que l'immigration baisse en nombre, mais pas en sélection. Et lorsque le chômage est plus bas, on laisse entrer plus de monde. Et il n'y a pas de critères de

sélection basés sur la couleur, ou sur la religion, ou l'origine ethnique.

MICHAEL VALPY, GLOBE AND MAIL: Q. Prime Minister, the Communiqué makes no statement of specific encouragement of the work of the Contact Group, nor does it make any statement of the specific endorsement, or rather your urge to redouble your efforts to put stronger pressure on the (inaudible) South Africa and, as the Secretary General explained just before you came in, Sir, that you really couldn't expect the Commonwealth to endorse proposals not yet made public. My question to you, Sir, is this something less than what you and Mrs. Thatcher had hoped for from the Commonwealth countries?

A. No. It's even more than I thought might be forthcoming, quite honestly. I think that the front line states and the rest of the African countries are showing a great deal of forbearance in asking us to continue and redouble our efforts, because they've waited for a long while,and I've said before, even in Canada, that I too was frustrated at the negotiating process which began in 1977, and which never seems to have a bottom line. And I would understand a greater expression of impatience that you seem to say exists in the Communiqué. So, far from thinking that I needed

more encouragement to keep on, I say: Thank God for their patience and their forbearance, and they're giving us another chance to try to reach an agreement.

Q. Does that mean that there is still a certain amount of uncertainty and unease within the Commonwealth, particularly within the African states, as to what you and the other Contact Group members are doing?

A. No. On the contrary, (inaudible) and said that they are encourging us to go on and to redouble our efforts. What would you want them to say? To triple our efforts? Or to have them again, or what?

FOREIGN PRESS: Q. Mr. Trudeau, it's been said that international conferences such as these are, in effect, useless, unless the super powers are present. To what extent then, can matters in the Communiqué such as the self-determination of Poland and of (inaudible), be really carried out?

A. Well, they are a moral imperative. And you don't have to be a super power to try and state a moral imperative ... (inaudible)... they are right for humanity or they are not. And the way you argue, nobody should ever be discussing anything about the world unless you are a super power, which doesn't give much hope for humanity.

Q. (inaudible)

A. Well, if it is ,we're all deaf.

ROBERT LEWIS (MACLEANS): Q. Prime Minister, I have a question about the attempt by Mr. Muldoon to have a statement introduced into the record about which the Secretary General briefed us, by the way. Did you intervene on that matter,and what did you think about the attempt to have that introduced?

A. Well, I think I recommended the solution that was finally carried, that the minutes record that Mr. Muldoon's letter was read, that a brief discussion ensued and that no further reference be made to the letter.

FOREIGN PRESS: Q. Has Canada made any decisions to increase aid to the Third World which will

help the impetus in this direction at Cancun. Any fresh decisions

A. Nothing today, but yesterday I announced a few decisions, and I announced a few others in August at the Nairobi Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. But I think they are mentioned in the Communiqué.

JIM MACLEAN, NEWSRADIO: Q. Prime Minister could you please tell us what you will do if the Premiers vote they cannot meet with you on Tuesday, they will have to wait another day or so, or is that it?

A. Wait a day? I think we should... somebody was arguing a moment ago that if they cannot see their way to being debriefed by Premier Bennett between Tuesday and Wednesday, it's not a big deal to have them meet on Thursday (inaudible). As far (inaudible) that Monday and Tuesday (inaudible). I really do not want to convey the impression that I am down to the hour and minute. I do want to indicate that we have got to keep the (inaudible) up, and that if after 54 years of debate and 15 months of very intensive debate and discussion, the Premiers cannot make up their minds rather quickly whether there is room for a compromise or not then I think they're not as good as I think they are.

Q. A supplementary, sir, on another issue. Do you intend to go to Cairo for President Sadat's funeral?

A. No. I have given it serious consideration because I think I've stated the admiration and all of the affection I have for the man, but I find it impossible. I will make sure that Canada is represented at a very high level but the difference between arriving home on Friday and arriving home on Sunday -- I'm going to stick to the schedule that I have mentioned on the constitutional debate which is a very important one. I have been away as you know for two weeks, and/a very important development has taken place during those two weeks/on the constitutional future of Canada and the question of whether they will finally reach (inaudible) /and I think I can't afford to stay away longer. So you can all count on being (inaudible) on Friday might if that is what is worrying you (inaudible).

Q. (Inaudible) Namibia (inaudible) train back on the rail. Do you share his optimism, Mr. Trudeau, and if so, why?

A. The reason I share his optimism is because (inaudible) recent meetings in New York and recent contacts with the South African Government which lead us to believe that now we know the bottom line of the South African Government and that we are convinced that with the proper amount of negotiation and persuasion we will be able to begin the (inaudible) electoral process some time in the course of 1982.

And I believe that that is the date now that the South Africans themselves are prepared to be pinned down to. That is the reason, you will recall, why last January in Geneva the talks broke down because we could not pin the South African Government down to a beginning date for the elections. But I think they will be able to do that now, and that is one reason why I am optimistic. And the other is the one I was mentioning earlier when I said that the (inaudible) states and the other African participants at the meeting here have shown that they are prepared to be a bit more patient before setting aside efforts at solving this problem by negotiation,and resorting to violence.

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well what we are doing in the meeting, day before yesterday I think it was, was that that bottom line would be discussed with the various participants, the SWAPO of course, and the other groups in Namibia, and the 40 participating nations in the Commonwealth meeting agreed that it would not be proper for us to start the negotiations (inaudible) here until we have approached the various participants directly involved to see if that bottom line (inaudible). By bottom line I did not mean that the South Africans have said: This is it, take it or leave it and we don't want to talk about anything else. I did mean that (inaudible) negotiation. You cannot work on one problem (inaudible)... and then you come up another one. And that can go on forever. But now the South Africans have indicated to us that if this, this, this, that thing, could be properly settled then they would not bring up some issue that

they had not thought about (inaudible).

BRIAN KELLEHER (CBC RADIO NEWS): Prime Minister (inaudible) on the constitution (inaudible). Do you still intend to bring in the package immediately after Parliament resumes?

A. Well, I think I indicated that if there was some agreement which developed at the meeting we are talking about, it might take a few more days to change that day and to get the order of the House changed and so on. But I am still talking of hours and days, and not of weeks and months.

Q. (Inaudible) what is Parliament's position regarding the P.L.O.?

A. Would you remind me of what the Communiqué said.

Q. It said: (inaudible) the P.L.O. is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people (inaudible).

A. Well, in terms of the Communiqué I can tell you that they are not part of the vote. But in terms of discussion, I think I can honestly say that we were not asked in so many words, and I think these are well known positions of the various participants that go back to positions we took since Resolution 242, and I think it is fair to say that nobody changed their position drastically. And the people who were drafting a Communiqué (inaudible).

Q. (inaudible) if you had not raised the Final Communiqué and you perhaps were not quite sure of what was in it. How much weight can we give to such a

Communiqué? How representative is it of the real feelings of the Heads of Government at the meeting?

A. Well, I cannot answer the first question -- how much weight you want to give to it. But it terms of your second question -- how representative it is, I can assure you that every delegation there participated in the drafting of it either directly through a Minister or through officials, and judging by the number of square brackets we have to argue about and delete or add, I would say that the Communiqué must reflect very accurately the feelings and the ideas of all the participants.

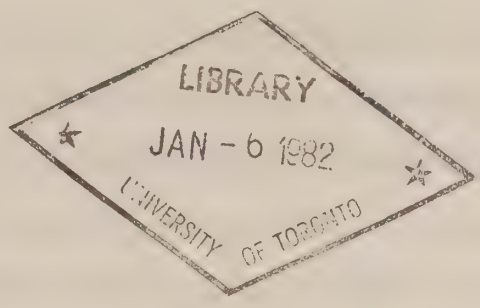
Q. Were you embarrassed by the presence of the Canadian Indian representation (inaudible).

A. No, I would say honestly I was not embarrasse because I must say honestly I did not know there were any Indian representatives in Melbourne. Did they have a good time?

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 18, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESSE A OTTAWA, LE 18 NOVEMBRE 1981



DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV): Prime Minister, after a brief look at the new resolution, in many ways it does seem a negation of everything or much of what you fought for over the past year, and I am just wondering if we could ask you how you feel about that and whether it is a case of your having to hold your nose and accept the arrangement.

A. Well, as between having the British parliamentarians hold their nose and me holding mine, I chose the latter.

Q. If I could just have a quick supplementary, sir, do you see any hope of the amending process, when the resolution gets to the floor of the House, leading to some improvements?

A. I really don't. If amendments had been possible, I think I would have extracted them in those last hours when the Accord was put together. I think the most important objective now is to avoid that Accord from falling apart.

It will be very tempting, of course, for Opposition members, and even for our own members, to move

amendments to try and improve the Accord -- in other words, to put it back closer to what the resolution was when we first introduced it last year. But I think that would risk imperilling the agreement of the ten governments which was signed last week, and if that were imperilled, then we would be back where we were before -- that the resolution would be legal but it might not be constitutional in the conventional sense, to use the court's expressions, and we would have the worst of both worlds. It wouldn't be "constitutional" and it wouldn't be as good a resolution as we had until last week in front of the House of Commons.

So, I think we had better realize that we've got the best we can get now, but it is not cast in stone; that there are amending formulae; that pressure groups will continue to act, and that over the years it may still prove to be a very good constitution. And where it is not, hopefully it will be amended over the months and years.

MICHEL VASTEL , LE DEVOIR: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, à moins que je ne sois dans l'erreur, je pense qu'il y a deux différences entre votre proposition de Québec et celle d'aujourd'hui. La clause 23.2, c'est-à-dire le droit pour un enfant qui a commencé son éducation dans une langue pourrait la continuer dans la même langue dans n'importe quelle province et, également, il n'y a pas de changement pour l'article numéro 6, c'est-à-dire la clause sur la mobilité. A moins que je sois dans l'erreur, je pense que ce sont, effectivement, deux différences par rapport à vos propositions de Québec.

Pourquoi ces différences?

Egalement, ces différences, je suppose, tiennent compte de négociations informelles et à travers les media avec le chef de l'opposition officielle à Québec.

Est-ce que vous avez un plan précis pour - malgré le gouvernement du Québec - tenter de négocier avec lui?

R. Sur le dernier point, je dois dire que le texte qui est là n'a pas été, à ma connaissance, ni autorisé ni vu par le chef de l'opposition à Québec.

Sur votre premier point, à savoir, y a-t-il une différence entre nos propositions de samedi soir, vous vous rappelez que samedi soir j'ai dit: "voici des directions dans lesquelles nous sommes prêts à faire un certain mouvement. Ce sera à négocier. Ce sera à négocier d'ici lundi... mardi avec le gouvernement du Québec, s'il le

veut, et, sinon, ça pourra être négocié une fois que la Résolution est déposée dans les jours, les semaines et les mois qui suivent."

Théoriquement, si le gouvernement du Québec nous téléphonait demain ou après-demain pour dire, écoutez, nous sommes décidés maintenant d'appuyer la Résolution à condition que vous fassiez tel changement sur la clause 6, j'ai dit,bien clairement: "la porte n'est pas fermée, nous serions prêt à la discuter."

Mais ce que j'ai proposé, encore une fois, samedi soir, c'étaient des directions dans lesquelles nous étions prêt à essayer de rencontrer les objections précises que le gouvernement péquiste avait lorsqu'il a refusé de signer jeudi de la semaine dernière Mais je n'ai pas dit que nous y allions unilatéralement. Ce que vous voyez aujourd'hui, c'est que nous avons bougé en partie,dans ces directions,mais nous ne sommes pas allé au bout des négociations possibles.

Q. Mais, si vous permettez juste une courte supplémentaire, est-ce que vous ne pensez pas que la différence, au niveau de l'article 23, l'accès à l'école dans la langue où l'enfant a été éduqué, n'est pas un changement majeur par rapport aux propositions de lundi?

Si vous le permettez, moi, je l'interprète comme un sous-article qui surpasse le premier, à savoir que des enfants de parents francophones qui auraient été à l'école anglaise pourraient très bien aller à l'école anglaise.

R. Les enfants de...?

Pardon? Qu'est-ce que vous avez dit à la fin? Les enfants de parents...?

Q. Francophones qui auraient été à l'école anglaise; l'enfant aurait été à l'école anglaise, il pourrait aller à l'école anglaise au Québec, bien sûr. Et vice versa dans les autres provinces.

R. Oui. Evidemment, il y a toujours une façon négative de voir les choses et une façon positive.

L'article 23, tel qu'il est, est un article que nous étions prêt à imposer aux dix provinces canadiennes, eussions-nous eu un accord, la semaine dernière.

L'article 23 tel quel, c'est avec ça que nous allions à Londres. J'ai offert publiquement à monsieur Lévesque, le jour même où la conférence tirait à sa fin, que nous étions prêt à négocier une clause Canada, s'il le voulait. Il n'a rien indiqué dans ce sens.

Alors, nous allons très loin dans la direction de la clause Canada.

Vous me dites qu'il y a un sous-article encore qui va peut-être aider, je ne sais pas, quelques centaines ou quelques milliers de personnes. Oui, c'est vrai. Mais c'est une façon négative de voir les choses. Nous avons fait un pas énorme en admettant la clause Canada, en faisant des changements à l'article 23, et nous l'avons fait -je l'ai dit samedi soir- parce que le caucus du Québec voyait cela comme une façon de rendre justice à la situation

québécoise. Mais nous n'avons pas fait tous les changements possibles, c'est sûr. C'est pour ça que je dis que dans les mois et les années qui viennent, la Constitution sera toujours négociable. Il s'agira d'essayer de trouver un consensus maintenant défini par une formule d'amendement dite de Vancouver plutôt que celle de Victoria qui, selon moi, avantageait plus la province de Québec que celle voulue et signée par le gouvernement de monsieur Lévesque Mais, enfin, ç'a été son choix.

JOHN BURKE (Global TV): Following up on the same question, I am wondering why, in light of the rejection by Quebec to your proposals made Saturday night, you feel it necessary to put these clauses into the Constitution; and secondly, did you get the approval, or at least did you consult the other nine provinces on doing these special moves for Quebec?

A. On the latter point, the answer is "yes", and in a real sense, though one will maybe talk of special status, it is important that you know that these were offered to the other provinces, too. In other words, it is not something we will give Quebec and we won't offer anyone else. They were offered, and they wanted Section 23 as it is.

So, that deals with the second question. On the first question, why did we move since Mr.Ryan (sic Mr. Levesque) didn't move,why did we put anything in? I attempted to explain that once again Saturday night when I made the offer, and it is that because I have now reached the conclusion that the Separatist government of Quebec is more interested in separation than in protecting the people of Quebec. In other words, it is following la politique du pire. It has decided to go all the way now to break up Canada. It is rejecting sovereignty association. It is saying "Independence is our aim" -- and independence, they believe, will be easier to obtain if Quebecers feel abandoned.

My caucus, the Quebec caucus, French and English-speaking members, have said, "Well, if the PQ government is abandoning Quebecers, we will not, and we think

that the Canada clause is about the right thing for Quebecers at this time, and we think that it would be fair to give compensation when there is opting out in the areas of language and culture".

So, since the PQ has now abandoned Quebecers in order to create as much grounds for complaining about the central government as possible, my Quebec caucus is taking unto itself to do the protection of Quebecers that the Quebec government is no longer doing. And that is why I listen to Quebec caucus.

STUART LANGFORD (CBC-TV)I wonder if I could step away from my normal format and ask you a very non-legal question for once.

With this goal of the Constitution charter, and federalism enshrined at least partially achieved, and North-South pushed as far on the world stage as perhaps it is going to be for a while, could you give us some idea about some of your personal goals, personal timetables, personal aspirations in the next six months to a year?

A. Well, I'm finishing the plastering work in my house in Montreal. Soon I will be able to spend weekends there, and I will see if I can forget the joys of Ottawa. I think it might take me a bit of time, and until I have convinced myself that the joys of Ottawa can be replaced by the joys of Montreal, I will still hang on to my job here -- which pays well and which has a house where the plaster is in good shape.

That is about as precise as I can be at this stage.

MICHEL GUENARD , TVA: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, dans votre projet de loi, vous passez par-dessus la tête... la volonté de l'Assemblée nationale, en modifiant la loi 101.

Est-ce qu'on pourrait vous demander pourquoi vous n'utilisez pas la même logique envers les provinces anglaises en regard du droit des femmes et du droit des Autochtones?

Et ma deuxième question, monsieur Trudeau, serait: vous venez de mentionner tout-à-l'heure, en anglais, que ces droits-là n'étaient pas coulés dans le béton, qu'il y avait moyen de les modifier.

Pourtant, depuis un an, on vous entend dire qu'une fois que ce serait enchâssé, aucun gouvernement ne pourrait y toucher.

R. Aucun gouvernement seul, agissant seul. Mais j'ai toujours dit -- je le disais même à monsieur Clark -- si vous voulez, une fois que nous aurons rapatrié la Constitution avec une charte des droits, c'est pas coulé dans le béton. Vous pourrez vous servir à ce moment-là de la formule de Victoria pour faire les changements que vous estimez utiles.

Alors, c'était le langage le plus consistant que j'ai toujours utilisé. Ca veut dire qu'une province seule ou le gouvernement fédéral agissant seul ne pourra pas, tout à coup, décider d'enlever des droits qui sont reconnus par la charte, y compris des droits linguistiques. Mais, bien sûr, la formule d'amendement sera

toujours là, à utiliser. Maintenant, c'est la formule de Vancouver. Quand je faisais ce raisonnement, c'était la formule de Victoria.

A votre autre question, la raison est bien simple. Je pense que je vous l'expliquais, ici, il y a déjà un an, au grand scandale de certains. Je voulais aller à Londres avec le plus large appui possible. J'ai fait certaines concessions à monsieur Broadbent pour avoir son appui. J'ai fait certaines concessions à monsieur Davis et à monsieur Hatfield pour avoir leur appui. J'avais offert, dans le temps, à la suite de négociations longues et inutiles à la Saskatchewan, certaines concessions pour avoir son appui.

Je ne me souviens pas qu'aucune province, pas même la province de Québec, m'ait jamais demandé, par exemple, d'imposer l'article 133 à l'Ontario. Si on me l'avait fait, et si j'avais eu leur appui - je pense que je l'ai dit également à une conférence que j'ai donnée à Osgoode Hall - j'aurais peut-être, à ce moment-là, balancé. Vaut-il mieux perdre l'Ontario et gagner le Québec ou garder l'Ontario et perdre le Québec? Je pense que .../ enfin vous pouvez deviner de quel côté mon coeur aurait balancé. Mais le fait est que le Québec... le gouvernement péquiste du Québec n'a jamais cherché à améliorer la charte pour protéger encore mieux les Francophones des autres provinces, ceux de l'Ontario ou ailleurs. Il ne s'est jamais objecté, par exemple, à la clause "où le nombre le justifie", la clause sur l'éducation, pour la bonne raison que c'était

une clause que le gouvernement péquiste avait déjà acceptée en '77 et en '78, à St. Andrews et à Montréal.

C'est ça la dynamique de ce qui se passe depuis pas seulement un an mais depuis quatre... cinq ans, depuis que le gouvernement péquiste gouverne la province de Québec. Il ne voulait pas de Constitution canadienne, il ne voulait pas de charte des droits; il voulait seulement plus de pouvoirs pour le Québec.

ç'a été ça l'aspect inepte de leurs négociations. Plutôt que de participer comme il l'aurait dû, avec joie, à un geste qui, enfin, va donner au Canada son indépendance formelle, ce gouvernement qui, paradoxalement, voulait l'indépendance du Québec n'a jamais voulu participer d'aucune manière à un geste qui donnerait l'indépendance au Canada Et quand il en est arrivé, finalement, en avril du mois dernier, à dire qu'il était prêt à donner l'indépendance du Canada, c'était avec des formules qui assuraient le séparatisme progressif.

Alors, c'est ça, la réponse à votre question. Je me suis cherché des alliés. J'aurais souhaité vivement seulement le Québec comme allié. Mais non! Ils ont voulu lutter implacablement à une démarche qui, vous vous le rappelez, en '76, visait seulement à rapatrier la Constitution avec la formule de Victoria. Vous vous rappelez ça. La correspondance avec les Premiers ministres et avec monsieur Lévesque, en particulier, en décembre '76 en dans les mois qui suivaient, "Essayons donc de rapatrier simplement la Constitution avec la formule de Victoria."

Maintenant, monsieur Lévesque dépose une motion à la Chambre disant qu'il voudrait bien qu'il y ait un rapatriement avec la formule de Victoria. Je pense que c'est un peu la récompense d'un parti... d'un gouvernement dont la position était ambigüe. Il prétendait travailler au renouvellement canadien, tout en voulant briser le pays qui s'appelle le Canada. Alors, leur contradiction interne a fini par éclater au grand jour. Et il se trouve que, par leur faute, le Québec sera encore une fois en retard au rendez-vous de l'histoire et quand les Canadiens fêteront, enfin, le jour où ils auront une Constitution canadienne bien à eux avec une charte des droits, et une protection des droits linguistiques qui était inimaginable il y a dix ou vingt ans, les Québécois seront contents, sans doute, mais le gouvernement du Québec sera éternellement en retard au rendez-vous de l'histoire.

GILLES PAQUIN, LA PRESSE: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, dans un discours récent, vous avez dénoncé les intellectuels qui ne partageaient pas votre enthousiasme pour votre projet et certains d'entre eux, entre autres, vous reprochent de ne pas avoir de mandat pour agir comme vous le faites.

Est-ce que vous avez l'intention, d'une façon démocratique, de consulter la population avant de poursuivre ou de terminer votre rapatriement?

R. Pour ce qui est des intellectuels, je ne les ai pas dénoncés, l'autre jour. J'ai

dit que je prendrais soin de ne pas les dénoncer pour ne pas commencer un long dialogue comme nous en avons eu un l'an dernier. Je les ai un peu taquinés.

Vous me demandez une question qui ne me paraît pas digne d'un intellectuel. Vous savez la réponse. J'ai offert à monsieur Lévesque le mercredi matin de nous en remettre tous les deux à la population canadienne par voie de référendum et pour savoir quelle formule d'amendement nous aurions et pour savoir quelle charte nous aurions. Et, monsieur Lévesque, que m'a surpris, m'a dit oui le matin et, le soir, il me disait déjà non.

J'ai expliqué, à Québec samedi soir, pourquoi il avait changé d'idée entre le matin et le soir. Alors, le référendum, je l'ai offert. C'a été rejeté par sept provinces, trois l'ont accepté -- Davis, Hatfield et Lévesque -- et, à la fin de la journée, il n'y en avait plus rien que deux; monsieur Lévesque avait changé d'idée.

Alors, j'étais revenu à la position où nous étions avant que la conférence commence. Je cherchais encore un consensus, monsieur Lévesque s'étant retiré du seul consensus qui aurait été possible.

Alors, pourquoi est-ce que vous me demandez cette question-là à moi? Pourquoi pas la demander à monsieur Lévesque, ou peut-être que vous allez lui demander!

MICHAEL VALPY (GLOBE & MAIL): Prime Minister, you have been asked by legislators from the Northwest Territories and by representative native groups to at least bind yourself, the federal government, to a form of Section 34 by committing yourself to recognize aboriginal claims and rights and treaties and Canada Lands north of 60.

Is that feasible, and if it is feasible, why isn't it acceptable?

A. It is something which, without getting into details and technicalities, is generally feasible. I don't think it would be ideal in any sense, but I discussed something along those lines with the Inuit leaders when I met them on Monday of last week. They went away and sent back a message that that isn't what they wanted.

So, you know, I don't know on -- if you are just asking the question out of intellectual interest, the answer is that, generally speaking, it is feasible. But it is not what they wanted. And that is exactly the nature of the problem.

I honestly don't know what the aboriginal people, the native people of Canada want. You know, last spring we thought we were meeting what they want, and we found out later that -- I think they changed their minds.

So, the difficulty is not with going in the direction that you indicate; the difficulty is knowing that if we go in that direction, how much support will we have, or will they say, "That's too little, and we will fight this to the bitter end"?

I honestly don't know, and that is why I think

it is wise to give them weeks, maybe six months, to decide exactly what it is they want in a constitution, and if it is something we can accept and the provinces will accept, well and good. And if it is not, we still have the possibility of going in the direction which you suggest.

But surely the experience we went through last year shouldn't be forgotten and shouldn't escape the attention of all those who are lamenting how terrible it is that aboriginal rights have been dropped. I think now the picture is becoming a bit clearer that it wasn't the federal government that dropped it. We tried to save it, and we tried to do other things in that last minute accord and we weren't successful, and I don't think it would be fitting for me now to try to find out which particular province objected. We made an agreement. I gave up some things, including aboriginal rights, and the provinces gave up some things, including their opposition to a charter, and so on.

But what you say is still possible, once we know exactly what will satisfy them. But I don't know, and once again those who are lamenting the dropping of it shouldn't forget that what we had in the Constitution was something that the native leaders were combatting firstly in London and Europe the very week that we were dropping it. And I am not saying that sort of in a spirit of, you know, "so much for that"; I am saying that as an indication that, to this day, I do not know what they want. But I do have very strong suspicions that if we put in something along the line that you say, it will not satisfy them.

Q. A quick supplementary. At the moment at least there is the appearance that you bartered with the rights of the aboriginal people. Could you give any stronger guarantees that, say, a year from now, if the provinces and your government haven't arrived at any conclusion or agreement -- say a year from now, or perhaps two years from now -- that something along the lines of my earlier question; at least that the federal government will bind itself?

A. Well, I don't know if you are using "bartered"in a perjorative sense. It is quite clear that the Charter, as we were moving unilaterally on it, is closer to my ideal of a charter, and so was the amending formula closer to my ideal of an amending formula than the one that we ended up with. So, in that sense, yes, some things were given up in order to constitutionalize the amending process.

The things that I gave up, you know, some of them make me sad. The aboriginal thing makes me sad. The right of a referendum to test the will of the Canadian people when the politicians disagree, that makes me even sadder to be quite frank -- and I mentioned that on the morning that we were announcing the Accord. And certainly some of the "notwithstanding" clauses make me sad too.

Now, you are asking me, can I give a guarantee that in the future this will all be righted. I can't guarantee that there will be a constitutional amendment accepted by all ten provinces, or seven of the ten, which will improve (it) in all those areas. I can say that the

federal government will continue the right to constitutionalize certain rights, and that that right will be exercised. It will be easier exercised when we know exactly what the native peoples want -- which I don't know now, and which I doubt whether you know.

JIM DUNSMORE (Yellowknife, N.W.T.):

Q. Prime Minister, will you be meeting with members of the Northwest Territorial Legislative Assembly, and secondly, do you favour some kind of constitutional protection, unilaterally if necessary, for aboriginal rights in the North?

A. I don't know if I will be meeting them or not. I know that the subject is going to be raised in Cabinet tomorrow by Mr. Munro. As a result of our discussion in Cabinet I may or may not decide to meet them. I don't know.

As to your second question, I think it was answered when I answered the previous question -- unless there is some aspect of it I didn't get.

You are asking me if we would act unilaterally to bind ourselves. I think I gave that answer.

Q. Just a quick supplementary, Prime Minister. One of the points the Legislative Assembly is talking about is that it is at least within the power of the federal government to act alone if it so desires to protect native rights in the North. They are saying it is a federal government responsibility. What I am wondering is, do you agree with that, and would you feel inclined that the federal government should take some form of action?

A. Yes on the constitutionality of it. We

could bind ourselves as regards the rights of natives in the Territories. We could also bind ourselves as regards the rights of women in the Territories, and so on, and so on. But that wasn't the purpose of our constitutional debate during the past thirteen years. It wasn't to bind ourselves. We can do that. You know, we have the Diefenbaker or the 1960 Bill of Rights. We could improve that. We could say certain things about the natives, and so on.

The object of the exercise during the past thirteen years was to get all provinces to be bound, and that objective was defeated -- I guess mainly by the Supreme Court and by the interpretation that many politicians gave to it.

If you are asking whether we can do it, the answer is "yes"; but there is no news there.

We wanted, and we still would like, to see aboriginal rights entrenched for all governments, and it's a technical question as to whether it is wiser to go unilaterally now and do it and then have the provinces beg off and say, "Well, you did it within your jurisdiction. Don't bother us", or whether we should try and organize a conference where the Premiers would be present and where we would have all of the native leaders -- speaking, hopefully, with one voice -- trying to bind everyone.

You know, I think it would be a little bit -- to me it would be more frustrating to do what you suggest because then, even under the federal jurisdiction, the natives north of 60 would be treated differently than natives living in the provinces. They would have constitutional rights in the territories that they don't have when they live

in Alberta and Saskatchewan -- even as far as federal law is concerned. So, I don't think that that is a very satisfactory solution.

DANIEL LESSARD, RADIO-CANADA: Monsieur le Premier ministre, Samedi, à Québec, vous aviez l'air d'être d'accord pour amender la clause sur la mobilité pour empêcher l'éventuel déséquilibre démographique, au Québec. L'amendement n'est pas dans la résolution. Est-ce qu'il y a des raisons précises?

R. C'est ma réponse que j'ai donnée à la question de votre voisin.

IAN ANDERSON (MACLEAN'S): Prime Minister, you say you don't know what the natives want. Can you give us some idea of what your impression of their concerns is.

A. No, I can't give you any idea.

GILBERT LAVOIE, LA PRESSE: Monsieur le Premier ministre, à votre avis, est-ce que ça satisfait la promesse que vous aviez faite aux Québécois à l'occasion du référendum? Si ça ne représente pas ce qu'on appelle une réforme de Constitution qui inclut ,-je pense que vous en conviendrez, la réforme des institutions fédérales, le partage des pouvoirs - puisque vous avez mis votre siège en jeu de mettre ces réformes de l'avant, est-ce que vous avez l'intention de demeurer au gouvernement assez longtemps, pour mettre ces réformes de l'avant?

R. Comme les choses changent! Vous vous rappelez, le référendum a été utilisé, en grande partie, pour dire que le fédéral ne voulait pas se sortir du statut quo constitutionnel, et que les gouvernements québécois voulaient se sortir du statut quo constitutionnel, et nous étions pour le statut quo, et eux voulaient le changement etc. On ne parle plus du statut quo, maintenant. C'est le Québec, c'est le gouvernement péquiste qui s'est barré dans le statut quo, et pire. Et nous, on a ouvert la voie au changement. On a maintenant une Constitution canadienne contre le PQ... enfin, contre la volonté du PQ. Nous aurons maintenant une Constitution canadienne amendable au Canada par les Canadiens. Sans droit de véto par le Québec, mais c'est aussi ce que le PQ a voulu.

Alors maintenant, nous pouvons commencer à regarder les autres problèmes. Les institutions, le partage des pouvoirs, etc. Je peux seulement vous rappeler que dès '78, '79, nous avions indiqué plusieurs domaines où nous étions prêts à transférer des pouvoirs aux provinces. La loi familiale est un exemple. Mais je vous rappelle également que nous avons transféré , dans la résolution qui est devant la Chambre, nous avons transféré aux provinces plus de pouvoirs dans le domaine des ressources naturelles. Le pouvoir de taxation indirecte qu'ils n'avaient jamais, et le pouvoir du commerce interprovincial qu'ils n'avaient jamais. Nous l'avons fait parce que des gens ont voulu négocier avec nous. Le Québec ne nous a rien demandé. Ils se sont contentés d'opposer. C'est pour ça que je dis que c'est dans la logique d'un parti séparatiste d'essayer de suivre une politique du pire, pour qu'il n'y ait aucune amélioration dans la Constitution.

Q. La deuxième partie de ma question. Puisque c'est vous qui avez mis votre siège en jeu sur la réforme constitutionnelle, est-ce que vous avez l'intention de demeurer au pouvoir tant que vous n'aurez pas complété cette réforme constitutionnelle?

R. De deux choses l'une. OU bien je reste au pouvoir jusqu'à ce que ... c'est à dire je resterai Premier ministre jusqu'à ce que j'effectue cette réforme constitutionnelle, ou bien je démissionnerai. Ce qui est une façon de mettre mon siège en jeu.

MIKE DOYLE (WINNIPEG FREE PRESS): Mr. Prime Minister, I noticed, in response to Mr. Valpy's question, you said you were sad about certain things missing from the Constitution. You are sad about the non obstante clause. And then earlier you said, "well, maybe it could still be a good Constitution". You sounded to me a little bit wistful.

I wonder, therefore, that if you take the situation where you have got a Charter of Rights -- supposing it is there for the people who oppose it -- and on the other hand you've got a Charter of Rights that those who favour it would see as a gutted Charter of Rights, whether you would rate this as a personal success in your particular copybook. I am asking your personal opinion.

A. Those who favour it see it as a gutted Charter?

Q. I think so.

A. For example, who?

Q. Well, I would think that most of the people who believed in the Charter of Rights would say that, with non obstante clauses affecting the legislatures, then when the great waves of public opinion that put the Japanese in jail in B.C., for example, occur, then the legislatures could fall down as building blocks or as dominos, and therefore they would think it was a bit of a gutted charter.

A. Well, you know, "they" is a very non-indicative word. I was told by Mr. Chretien a few hours ago that the Director General of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Boro-something -- Borovoy -- thinks its a better charter than we had in our original ---

Q. Eugene Forsey doesn't like it; Walter Tarnapolski doesn't like it; Mr. Justice Thomas Berger doesn't like it.

A. I am told that Tarnapolski is of the contrary view; that he thinks it could be a better charter.

Insofar as Berger is concerned, where was he when we were fighting to put the best charter in the world into law? I didn't see him take to the hustings then or write articles to the newspapers. Did he? Maybe I missed them. But, you know, I was looking for allies in those days, and I didn't find very many. It does make me a bit wistful now to see that people are discovering that -- you know, including the aboriginals -- that we had a hell of a good Charter which they didn't support and which many of them combatted.

Q. Can I just continue this in a slightly different way?

A. Please.

Q. Given the areas where you have said you are personally unhappy with it, given the likelihood that Quebec will remain isolated no matter which way the ball game shakes out, do you still count this as a personal success -- you yourself, writing your memoirs?

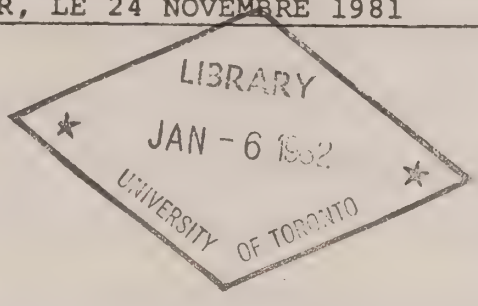
A. In the case of Quebec, I wouldn't say Quebec is isolated. I would say the PQ is isolated. That is a hell of a difference, and I think it is a very important one.

And you are asking me now if I consider it a success? No, I consider it an abject failure.

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW OF THE PRIME MINISTER BY JACK WEBSTER, ON CHAN-TV, VANCOUVER, NOVEMBER 24, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE L'ENTREVUE DU PREMIER MINISTRE AVEC JACK WEBSTER, CHAN-TV, A VANCOUVER, LE 24 NOVEMBRE 1981



Q. May I leave aside for a moment, Sir, what is regarded by trade unions and business alike as your fairly disastrous Budget.

A. Yes, leave that aside.

Q. Leave that aside for the moment.

A. I hear it's very popular here in British Columbia.

Q. Most unpopular, Sir.

A. Really?

Q. Yes. I'll give you the specifics later. But right as of this moment, are you the happiest man in Canada today?

A. I don't think so. I don't know who else is unhappy.

Q. Sir, would you still say as you said a week or so ago that the whole constitutional business was an absolute failure?

A. I don't think it's a failure, Jack. I think it could have been better. It could have been much worse. It could have been a continuation of the 54 years of non-action. We got action.

Q. Right at this moment, Sir, here you've got the nine provinces agreed on women's rights and aboriginal rights, back in Section 34. And you're trying to say that you're not overjoyed and euphoric this morning?

A. Well, on the Charter, Jack, I'm very happy. I think that we've got a very good Charter of Rights. I'm slightly unhappy about the amending formula. I think it could have been better. I'm very happy that we're going to have patriation. I'm somewhat disappointed but not surprised that the Separatist Government of Quebec is not on side. So, I can't say that my joy is without bounds, but I think it's a good achievement.

Q. It is not unconfined, your joy, in other words. But surely Sir, right now the reinstatement of the aboriginal and treaty rights, with the agreement of the nine provinces, was a victory you did not expect.

A. No, to be honest, I didn't. And I think it was mainly the handiwork of Jean Chrétien, of the Indian people, of the women and of the Opposition parties, achieving what I was unable to achieve - the insertion and protection of those in the Constitution. You'll recall that I've been fighting with the provinces for a year on some of those points

and until two weeks ago we were going to go to London with just the support of Ontario and New Brunswick. And I think people now realize that it was a kind of a difficult fight. We didn't have in those days the very strong lobbies of the women and the aboriginal people. When they got into the act, it made it easier. I only wish they would have got into the act a year ago and we would have an even better amending formula.

Q. But you said yourself you don't really know what the Indians want. And I might suggest to you, Sir, that many non-Indians, especially in Alberta and in British Columbia, are somewhat worried. Is it only existing rights that are back into the Charter, or does this open the door for new massive land claims in the West in areas where there are no treaties?

A. Well, I don't think your two provisions are necessarily contradictory. What the Charter says is that those rights which exist are recognized. You don't recognize rights which don't exist. The courts will help to find them and what I'm most happy about is that we still have the clause which says that within a year the federal and provincial governments and the native leaders themselves will get together in an effort to define those rights. So it's not merely handed over to the courts. The political process will still be alive. And I think this is a part-answer to those native leaders who will still be unsatisfied I'm sure with the present guarantees. Some of them who fought very hard for them, like the Inuit people, will be happy, I think. But a lot of the Indian leaders are still uncertain

as to what they want and this political process will go on helping them define it.

Q. In other words, it's going to be a long, long time before any new rights, in the way of major land claims, are established for Indians on the West Coast. The Misgha have a treaty. They have a tribal (inaudible). The Squamish have this and that. But there are many other people whom I can't get to tell me what they want. Do they want 10 per cent of the land? Twenty per cent of the land? Could a court give them that,or would they only get fishing and hunting rights?

A. Now, if they have land claims now as they may support, flowing from various historical documents or the Royal Proclamation of '63 and so on, if they have the rights now, of course, the Constitution says those rights will exist. Some of them will entail compensation or possession of land. That is what will be defined either by political negotiation or by the courts.

Q. In other words, it's not a blank cheque in any way, shape or form from the State?

A. No, it is not.

Q. Let's look at women's rights, Sir. I never could understand why your first section of women's rights was not acceptable. Equal rights now means: equal work, equal pay for work of equal value as decided in each provincial jurisdiction, or nationally?

A. Well, the jurisdiction of provinces won't be changed. The provincial governments will still make laws concerning contract. The federal government will still make laws concerning contract in certain areas of federal jurisdiction like transportation. So these jurisdictions won't change. It means that when these laws are made by the federal or the provincial governments, they will have to make sure that both sexes are treated equally. That is in essence what the constitution means.

Q. You have been criticized, Sir. Earlier on, it was said that your charter was gutted. But now that you've got aboriginal rights and the women's rights are in the original form, no one could say that the Charter has been gutted, even with the override provisions in the hands of provincial governments. Is that correct?

A. Well, you know it is not as perfect and as absolute as we had intended it during the past year when we were fighting, as I say, with the support of only two provinces and very few pressure groups. Now, there is a notwithstanding clause, there is an override clause. And therefore, in that sense, the rights are not as absolutely protected, but I must honest and say that I don't fear the notwithstanding clause very much. It can be abused as anything can, but the history of the Canadian Bill of Rights Diefenbaker had adopted in 1960, it has a notwithstanding clause and it hasn't caused any great scandal. So I don't think the notwithstanding clause deters very significantly from the excellence of the Charter.

Q. But for instance, Sir, if I may. Supposing, hypothetically speaking, a judge somewhere struck down abortion as against freedom in every way, would the province then act after that if it affected Medicare or the running of the hospitals, to bring in a specific statute to set that judge straight?

A. Well, you're referring the right to life provisions, for instance. A legislature could, if it had some of its laws struck down, a legislature could say notwithstanding the Charter, and notwithstanding such and such a judgment, we will pass a law enacting so and so. So it is a way that the legislatures, federal and provincial, have of ensuring that the last word is held by the elected representatives of the people rather than by the courts.

Q. One thing which you and I have gone over many times that I want to understand quite clearly now, and you must be pleased about this. All the provinces are now committed in the Charter to bilingual French and English education where numbers warrant with no way of opting out?

A. That is right, there is no opting out provision...

Q. Quebec therefore is the only province?

A. Quebec is the only province.

Q. When do you think will you enforce the Canada clause whereby people taught in English in the rest of the country must be taught in English in Quebec?

A. Oh, that clause comes in with the Charter. It is not enacted in the provincial law of Bill 101, but as soon as the Charter is law, then that becomes law in Quebec and any English Canadian parent moving from Vancouver to Montreal will have, under the Charter, the right to send his child to English school.

Q. Will the Separatist Government of René Lévesque sit still under that when he talks about the stab in the back, sovereignty, independence? Can you ever make a deal with a man who wants to smash the country?

A. Well, I must say I was never very optimistic. A man whose party is dedicated to prove that Canada can't work, I don't think we should be too surprised that he comes to Ottawa, and when he sees that the other Premiers and the Federal Government are making Canada work, he has to find some reason to say that Canada doesn't work. If he had come and signed a reasonable agreement, he would have gone home and his people would have torn him apart. They would have said: You're a Separatist. You can't make federalism work.

Q. You are accused of being Machiavellian in your designs of plans. It's a compliment to you, I think. Did you mousetrap René Lévesque when he surrendered the veto and then you were able to go straight ahead?

A. I wouldn't like to use that expression, but I think that the dynamics of the discussion turned when, on that

Wednesday morning, was that the 4th of November, I said: Look, we're not making any progress. At this rate, we'll never have a Canadian Constitution with a Charter of Rights. Let's ask the people of Canada. Let's just bring the Constitution home and have a referendum in a couple of years asking them if they want a charter or not, and asking them if they want this or that amending formula. Then I think everybody got very, very nervous because I don't think any of the Premiers wanted a Charter of Rights, and that's when the whole thing began to collapse. And I guess Mr. Lévesque made a tactical error when he said: Well, I can't refuse the referendum formula. And when he knew that his seven colleagues didn't want a referendum. So they saw that he had abandoned them and broken the united front. So then when the united front was broken, the rest was reasonably easy. I mean there is one basic strategy on our side. It was to break the group of eight some way, to get a couple of them away, or four of them away. Their basic strategy was to break the group of three and get either Ontario or New Brunswick separated from Canada. And our strategy worked because we just said: Well, let's put it to the people. And we knew that they wouldn't have the nerve to say we'll ask the people whether they want a Charter and we, Premiers, will campaign against it.

Q. Mr. Trudeau, do you anticipate that Lévesque will call an election when he is in that losing position: nine against one - back where we were 12 years ago as far as Quebec and the rest of the country is concerned?

A. No way. I think I know politicians well enough to know that they're not going to call an election when they're only six or eight months in office. I've challenged him to have an election on independence, and he has already lost two elections on independence. The two he won were when he put independence aside, and there is no way he's going to call an election now.

Q. Not at all, you don't think. When will it go to London, your estimated guess, the package...

A. I don't know. If Chrétien's announcement last night-- the only area of difficulty is maybe an amendment Mr. Clark wants to make to try and help solve the Quebec problem. But either that will work or it won't, and I would guess that by the end of the week we should be...

Q. And we should have the Constitution back when? January 1st?

A. I don't know. I think we'll have to let Margaret Thatcher and her governement decide how best to put through the House of Commons and the House of Lords. I don't think we'll have the difficulty they were threatening last month (inaudible) about revolt of the backbenchers and so on.

Q. We've got 20,000 woodworkers idle in British Columbia, the lowest housing starts in North America in years, we're in a powerless situation. Knutson and McEvoy told me it will be the end

of 82, the middle of 83, and that some good size companies might even go under in this slump. You came along with your Budget, Sir, and you hit housing power. How could your Finance Minister for whom you have great respect, make such a mistake in wiping off MURBS when it meant $1 billion of construction across the country?

A. Well, there's a lot of wishy-washiness in your question.

Q. Shall I try again?

A. No, I think I can correct it out of memory. You say the worst record of housing starts in history. That's not true. In British Columbia, the record of housing starts is, I think, the highest this year than it has been since '76. It's in the United States that housing is very much down because of a budget which... oh well, let's say because of an economic recession. And the main market for British Columbia lumber, as everyone knows, is in the United States. And we can't do anything about those markets. Now, we haven't hit housing hard, as you say. We've closed a few loopholes permitting some people to make a lot of money, but we've on the other hand given encouragement, interest-free monies so that housing starts could continue. The province in its budget yesterday has supplemented that. So it's not a matter of stopping house building, it's a matter of making sure that it is not an occasion for undue enrichment by the very wealthy.

Q. I don't think you've quite got my question, my fault. In your Budget, you said we'll close the loopholes for the rich.

And, unknowingly, it seems, you had closed a great amount of housing construction, rental housing under MURBs which does give an incentive. Six days later, you had to flip-flop it. Surely someone should have known in advance that you were going to stop rental construction dead, except maybe in British Columbia, and did.

A. No, we stopped a certain type of rental construction through MURBS...

Q. (Inaudible) going up, Sir.

A. Yes, but we replace it by another type. It's not the only type going up. Central Housing and Mortgage has cooperative and non-profit housing. They're encouraging the start of I think it's 30,000 or 40,000 units this year. And the Budget itself brings in interest-free money to encourage the start of some 7,500 houses. So you know the total of that will mean that housing will start in this province and in the rest of Canada, and that it won't start by permitting people to use tax loopholes. They will have to pay the taxes on the money they make. The effect of the budget is to increase taxes on less than 800,000 people. You know some 12 million taxpayers will be paying less taxes, most of them in the low-income brackets. Another 3,500,000 taxpayers will not be paying more taxes. I'm basing these on the tax figures of 1979.

Q. It is a miracle Budget, Sir, as you well know. It is used to lower taxes and increase revenues, because of your additional revenue from Alberta oil. Correct?

A. Exactly, exactly. Some 800,000 people will be paying more taxes. Now, these are the rich people. That's what the Liberal budget is. And if you don't hear the 12 million taxpayers who are paying less taxes, you don't hear them writing in and carrying placards and saying how unfair it is they get less taxes. So why should they make any noise and that's not news? But 800,000 people are going to pay higher taxes and they're amongst the higher tax brackets.

Q. Will you not renew the MURBs for next year because of the incredible lack of rental accommodations. Here it's up to .04 now, Sir, and the housing industry and everyone is screaming they must have MURBs again next year.

A. Look, MURBs was a special loophole provided to encourage experts in rental...

Q. Your government... in '71 you encoraged this...

A. Yes, yes. It was in our government until this last budget.

Q. A year at a time.

A. Yes, a year at a time. And we see that it has been very effective. But now, we're saying we've got to find another way which will still oblige people taxes when they make profits.

Q. I can't get you to admit, Sir, that you made a mistake in the flip-flop on MURBs.

A. No. What the mistake was probably was to stop it dead in its tracks, because some people had begun investments. They had incurred what is known as soft costs...

Q. That's the rip-off...

A. No, the soft costs are the planning stage, the architectural, the borrowing, the financing...

Q. Right, I know it, Sir.

A. This part, and we say okay if you've already incurred costs and you really intend to build the footings of the building by the end of the year, you can still come under MURBs, but don't count on MURBs to help you through the future... You know MURBs is a plan that permits a lawyer, a doctor, a radio announcer to get some tax-free benefits, and we are saying it is time you people started paying your taxes. You know, amongst the 100,000...

Q. It was a loophole put in by your government as an incentive and you've now decided to close that door.

A. We put that loophole in deliberately at a time when there needed to be an additional incentive for houses, and at a time when interest rates were much lower. With interest rates, as everybody is complaining, in the 15, 20, 22 per cent range, this tax loophole is enormous. Some $48 billion this year were going to be free of tax... That's about a third of all the taxable personal income in Canada. About the third of it was escaping through loopholes. Now I think that...

Q. They were your loopholes.

A. Well, yes, Jack. I mean every law you make, lawyers and accountants find a way of getting through it...

Q. And they'll find other ways.

A. They will and an alert government will plug the loopholes...

Q. Let me get to the next one, Sir. You're boasting of your budget. Top trade union leader in British Columbia phoned me last night and said: Please ask the Prime Minister or words to that effect, if he realizes that apart from taxing our fringe benefits, dental plans, union welfare plans, pension retirement sums, that we are about to be imputed tax on our room and board, which is as much as $50 a day benefit. That will be $15 which will lead to much tougher bargaining by the IWA next year. Did they know that was going to happen?

A. Well, look, if he is a top union leader in British Columbia, what he is earning a year? $50,000, $60,000?

Q. He is making about $32,000, $34,000.

A. Are you sure of that?

Q. Yes, Sir. Jack Munro, IWA, $37,000 I think is his exact salary.

A. Well, Jack Munro should pay taxes like everyone else and if there're...

Q. He is talking about the men in the camps, Sir.

A. The men in the camps, you know... I'm repeating: if there are 800,000 Canadians paying higher taxes - there must be very few men in the camps who are in that 800,000 - they're probably in the 12 million people who are going to have a tax benefit.

Q. They feel they're not going to have a benefit on this.

A. Well, of course, they feel because they listen to people like you and Jack Munro.

Q. It will make for tougher bargaining...

A. I haven't never known a budget that was applauded by anybody, because the people who are going to pay higher taxes have the loudest mouths and they make a lot of noise. Don't they, Jack?

Q. Not me, Sir. Not about that. I'm merely a modest reporter trying to reflect to you, Sir, unhappiness in British Columbia about your Budget. Because, we, Sir, are different from the others, more inclined to be entrepreneurs and risk takers. One of the big complaints of Vancouver, Sir, is that your tax policies in the Budget will steal money from investments in the West Coast, speculative and risky, and pull it back in Bay Street--profitable companies, the big boys' pension plan by the removal of the investment income privilege for people who invest and speculate in stocks on the West Coast.

A. Look, a person who is a real entrepreneur, who wants to build a business, his investment is tax deductible. What are you talking about? It's the guys who are paper entrepreneurs, those who play the stock market, so they don't have to pay taxes when they make profits with money that they borrow. You know, big deal, is there something very unfair...

Q. I'm merely reporting to you, Sir, that it's causing a great depression in this part of the world, and will guide money to Toronto.

A. Well it won't, Jack. If people are more paper entrepreneurs on the West Coast than they are in Toronto, it may. But it's time people create real businesses. And if their money serves to create real businesses, of course, it will be deductible. And their profits, capital gains, whatever they are, will be diminished by the interest that they're saving. You know, they'll have to pay taxes if they make profits.

Q. Is that being tough on the people who...

A. We're certainly tough on people who are making money. They'll have to pay taxes.

Q. And they may just as an incentive, they may probably, those greedy ones...

A. They'll go to invest in Indonesia maybe or in Ghana.

Q. Not there, Sir, they'll go to the safer investments in the States. One more question on (inaudible) if you don't mind, Sir after the break.

Q. Back to the lumber slump: 20,000 woodworkers laid off in B.C. for one reason and another, hitting hard at us.

A. Well, they were on a great strike, weren't they just...

Q. Last summer was the strike.

A. Why did they go on strike for?

Q. Half a billion dollars extra in wages, if you want the facts, even if I'm not...

A. No wonder we're pricing ourselves out of the world markets.

Q. Right now, why can you not in these days, why can't you just cut interest rates for first-time mortgage borrowers? Why can't that not be done arbitrarily by you and the Bank of Canada, to bring interest rates down to 12 per cent even if they had to put half a per cent on all other bank borrowing?

A. Well, essentially because the way to bring interest rates down is to fight inflation. And the way to fight inflation is to spend less money, not more money. And that's what the Budget is doing. It's bringing interest rates down by bringing inflation down, by cutting government deficits.

Q. You're not claiming that Canada's action is bringing down our interest rates, Sir, are you? Surely it's the world market, the American market. We follow it.

A. You mean that when interest rates go up, it's Canada's government's fault, but when they go down it's the world markets?

Q. Well, that may be a way to look at it, Sir. But many people wonder, not just NDPers, why some arbitrary action cannot be made to lure interest rates for first-time mortage holders to get the nation back on its feet in house building.

A. Well, you can always give money away for nothing and some people will like it, Jack. But look, did you buy any Canada Savings Bonds?

Q. Yes.

A. What are you getting from the government?

Q. Ridiculous. Far too much.

A. Nineteen and a half per cent. If you hadn't got that, you wouldn't have bought government bonds. You would have put your money as these people you were talking about a moment ago, you would have sent it to the United States where you can get higher interest. So the Government of Canada had to borrow money from you at 19.5%.

Q. Was that a mistake? Do I?

A. It may have been a good move by you to lend your money, but that is the reality. You wouldn't have lent it if you hadn't got that high interest rate. So if the Government is paying that money, how can it turn around and give 12 per cent money to everybody

who wants to buy a house, rich or poor. What we're doing is for the farmers, for instance, for the small businessmen, by the small businessmen's bonds, we're permitting him to have 12 per cent money. We're permitting the farmer to have 12 per cent money. When they're in difficulty, we're permitting people to have an out, but we're not going to put 12 per cent money out when we're paying 19 per cent for it in bonds. We're not going to give it out to anybody who wants to build a house, including rich people like you.

Q. Sir, I already have a house. I'm not suffering.

A. But if you had 12 per cent money, you would be a fool not to buy another, to build another and then sell it for profit.

Q. No, Sir. A separate room for a first-time home buyer scheme up to a limit say of $100,000 or more, making the other customers of the banks subsidize the 12 per cent rate, and that would put the economy surely on the go. Surely, it's not a bad idea.

A. Well, the other customers of the bank are already subsidizing the small business bonds. That's why the banks can give 12 or 13 per cent on small business development bonds. Because they're making profits with the other...

Q. Sometimes you seem like such a socialist in your levying of taxes, and the other times you don't, you're a total free enterpriser to fight inflation by cutting government expenditures.

A. Well, look, cutting down our expenditures to what? We're still going to have a budgetary deficit next year of some $10 billion...

Q. It will be down to 9 by 1986.

A. Yes, but we're still having a large deficit. We're not letting it grow as fast as it would. You can't say that is Reaganomics or Margaret Thatcher's approach. We're still injecting a lot of money to create jobs and to make the economy grow. We're not balancing our budget in other words.

Q. On a smaller but just as important matter of Government action, Sir, you saw the UFFI protesters outside tonight, this morning - urea-formaldehyde. Did you know the banks and the trust companies now will not give mortgages to owners of homes containing that, making it almost impossible to sell them?

A. No, I didn't know that, Jack.

Q. Another matter which is worthy. I know you're investigating what might be done for UFFI people, but does that not shake you a little bit?

A. Well, if the facts are as you state them, I'll have to find out the reason for that. But I do know that because of that difficulty of UFFI homeowners, we've got a survey of some 2,400 houses across Canada. We're trying to collect the information. We've also got an advisory council looking at

whether it is as bad everywhere as people who have it claimed. Sometimes, it's because it's badly installed, contrary to provincial regulations, and we're going to find out the facts before we dole out money once again.

Q. Sir, I must ask you now; I'm not asking when you're going to quit, Sir. You'll quit in your own good time, right?

A. Thank you, Jack.

Q. And it might be sooner and it might not be sooner. I'm not going to push you on that.

A. No, no. I'm not pushing you either.

Q. But what I want to ask you very seriously is: Do you not feel a little shaken that you do not have, apparently, a tough Anglo successor to take the normal pattern - French Canadian, English Canadian? Well, Chrétien is the man who comes to mind, Sir, but I'm sure the Liberal Party would be upset if we didn't keep the balance back and forward.

A. You say there's no tough Anglo Canadian successor?

Q. With respect, Sir, yes. Who is known across the country and who exerts the kind of clout that you exert.

A. Well, you're saying nobody is as good as I am. Thank you for the compliment, Jack. But I'm sure as soon as I have passed on you'll find people who are even better. Even in my own Cabinet and my party, in and out of Parliament, there are a lot of people who can become Prime Minister of Canada.

Q. Well Pearson left, Sir, and you stepped in. There were eight potential successors.

A. And I'll bet you there will be at least eight when I step out too.

Q. Not being disrespectful to any of your distinguished colleagues, there does seem to be a lack of putative leaders behind you of the Anglo group, right?

A. Well, I guess I have been less encouraging than Mr. Pearson to permit leaders to step forward while I am still in office But as soon as I give the signal that I'm going, trust me, there will be a lot of very good leaders stepping forward...

Q. That's what Radwanski wrote about you in the book, you were a tough man to work for, and that you were not always able to bring along successors. Correct?

A. Well, I don't think I have to bring along successors. They are there. They'll step into the job as soon as I leave it.

Q. Sir, how would you like to take a few phone calls?

A. I wouldn't like that at all.

Q. You would not like it?

A. No.

Q. You'll take one?

A. I'll take a couple, O.K. Jack.

Q. I'm sorry to have to tell you that on the wire at this moment the following story released to UP: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. will continue to write mortgage insurance for homes of urea formaldehyde (inaudible). Ron Boivin denied earlier news reports that the housing agency has stopped including mortgages for homes with insulation.

A. See, as soon as you got some bad news, you hasten to put it on the air. That's what I call reporters drinking their own bathwater.

Q. Mind you, as an old time reporter looking at that, it doesn't quite answer all the problems, but it does clear up the fact that the Mortgage and Housing...
A telephone call, Sir. Go ahead for the Prime Minister.

(Tel.) Q. Mr. Prime Minister. Once again, it would seem that through your Budget you have sentenced Western Canada to go stand in the corner, in isolation. Where is that $4 billion Western Canada Development Fund that you promised us with your double-tracking, double-crossing, double-talk?

Q. A fair question, Sir?

A. No, that's an impolite question.

Q. Impolite. But can I take that away from him, Sir, and say you have cut that down to $1.5 billion, the Western Development Fund?

A. No, we haven't. It is going to be spent over a longer period of time.

(Tel.) Q. (Inaudible) that inflation was a basic cause of high interest rates. However, how do you reconcile this with Mr. MacEachen's 22 per cent increase in government expenditure, which is over 8 per cent greater than that of the inflation rate.

A. It's not a 22 per cent increase, Sir. It's a 16 per cent increase, which, you're right, it's still above the inflation rate. The explanation to that is that government costs have been going up faster than inflation. And that is why this very day for instance, in Halifax, Mr. MacEachen is meeting with the provincial Finance Ministers in order to begin to cut government expenditures, notably those which are transferred to the provinces: revenue guarantees, which were brought in some 6 years ago and which are no longer needed. And that will be the story of this budget: trying to cut expenditures and resist pressures such as I've had from Jack here and I'm sure I'll have from other questioners, to spend more money. Jack had a few schemes to spend more money, to not plug some loopholes. We're plugging them in order that we will achieve what you correctly say is too high a rate of spending.

(Tel.) Q. Mr. Trudeau, I was following with great interest your North-South work. I'm wondering what you are doing to get stuff happening inside the country to support these external plans you would like to do. One thing that I've seen happen on the TV a lot is the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce have got these ads to buy Canadian, and they show ads of the garment industry and that sort of thing, and yet in the North-South book by Willie Brandt we see that if we buy foreign clothing this would

help bring our industry, our inflation down because these are cheaper. Now there is a problem, Mr. Trudeau, the North-South talks: supposing the Americans come up, as is remoured, with tariff cuts in textiles for underdeveloped countries. Could we go along with that?

A. Well, we already have a specialized preference tariff for underdeveloped countries in many areas, Jack. Some, I think, 80 per cent of our imports from less developed countries are in tariff free. But it's true that in certain areas, like clothing textiles and shoes, that there is a temporary protection; and I say it's temporary because it will come to an end. The aim of them is to permit these industries to phase out their inefficient operations and to replace them by higher technology industries. And that takes a bit of time not to put some thousands of workers out of jobs. And that is what we're doing, not only Canada but the world textile agreement, is providing that kind of arrangement for many countries who are in the same position.

Q. Were you disappointed with the overall results of the talks at Cancun? Was there apparently a real commitment from the Americans?

A. I was disappointed. I think we made real progress in many areas, in the vital area of global negotiations. We got the Americans, as we had at the Ottawa Summit last July, to agree to the process of global negotiations. It's a matter of getting them started under the right conditions and there is a lot of work left there.

Q. This call I believe is from a spokesman I see over here from the Misgha Tribal Council. Am I correct?

(Tel.) Q. There is (inaudible) there, Prime Minister and Jack. First of all, I wish to talk to you that we are not a treaty. And secondly, I want to make it clear to the Prime Minister, speaking for the Misgha people that we are definitely opposed to the word "existing", we are not talking about existing rights. We're talking about aboriginal rights, because in our opinion Premier Lougheed's proposal (inaudible) with the provincial prime ministers to continue to deny the existence of aboriginal rights. This is the way we (inaudible)

- as it now stands. So we're definitely not in agreement with that because it will only entrench the rights of Premiers to continue to deny that it has the existing rights, as it now stands.

A. If I understand you, you're against the word "existing" in the clause?

(Tel.) Q. That's right, we're definitely oppposed to the word "existing". What we wanted was the re-entrenchment of Section 34 as it stands.

A. Yes, but did you fight Section 34 when we had it in the Constitution, or did you fight for it?

Q. We fought for it, we fought for this (inaudible) as a matter of fact, (inaudible) what we wanted.

A. Well, all I know is that there were ...

(Tel) Q. Then we were....

A. There were hundreds of Indian leaders in London and touring Europe, fighting the clauses as we had originally put it in. Now you say you like that clause but you don't like the added words. I can only say it would have been easier if you'd have supported us with the original clause.

(Tel) Q. We supported you on the original clause, even this week, as it was, and we sent you a telex one month before it was removed, indicating that we did not want it removed.

A. Well, I mean that is the difficulty of the problem, is that there were hundreds of Indians fighting the clause in London, and people like yourself, you say you were supporting them. That is why we said let us give ourselves a year to try and get some agreement amongst the native leaders and see what the best clause is. And that is why the present resolution gives us a year during which there will be meetings of native leaders Inuit, Metis, Indians with all the provincial governments and the Prime Minister. And we will try and arrive at something. That was really part of the difficulty. That the Indian people didn't agree amongst themselves and it didn't make it easy for me to write in something that they wanted.

Q. I thank Jimmy Gosnell of the Misgha Tribal Council. One more (inaudible) Prime Minister, and then he leaves after the break.

Q. One of the principal critics of the removal of Section 34 was Mr. Justice Berger of the Supreme Court of British Columbia. Do you think that he will now be happy,now that you put back Section 34 even with "existing rights" in?

A. Well, Jack, that's a pretty sensitive subject. I'm not sure what permitted Justice Berger to enter the public debate on a resolution which is before Parliament. The judges are very sensitive when politicians criticize them. I think it's not the purpose of a judge to get in and discuss an accord that was reached or a bill before Parliament. And I take strong exception to that. I hope-- if he had wanted to do this, I wonder why he didn't support the bill when it was there,and when it gave Quebec the veto, and when it gave the Indians the aboriginal rights. He didn't support us then. He saw fit to get off the bench and enter the political arena at a very inopportune time. I regard that as the judiciary getting mixed into politics and I hope that the judges will do something about that.

Q. Fair enough, that's a straightforward statement. People like myself of course are still reasonably unhappy, although we accept your Charter /of Rights, that there's going to be an awful lot of queues for court cases as soon as your charter comes back. With interpretation by judges, under the Charter of Rights, instead of the people we can throw out, yourself and others.

A. Well, then you'll be happy with the notwithstanding clause which permits the elected representatives, whom you can throw

out to reverse the judgment by putting a notwithstanding clause in. So in the final analysis...

Q. It will balance.

A. It will balance.

Q. And are the courts not in someway restricted by the generality of the beginning of the Charter package in which you say guarantees the rights and freedoms set out only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified.

A. That is the wording which you see in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It's the wording that permits, in a sense, to find a functional normal way. You know the famous example of Justice Holmes: You can't yell "fire" in a crowded theater because of freedom of speech. There are some limits to it which society can impose.

el) Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to congratulate you on your Budget. You put up more taxes in high earning brackets in the 800,000 people you are talking about. Now, those people most likely are not going to like that thing, but if you go back to the Russian Revolution 95 per cent of the wealth performed by 5 per cent of the people, by eliminating the middle class where the policy was going so far like most working people suffered losing homes and everything called, I think you avoided that great problem here.

A. Thank you, Sir. Go ahead, please.

(Tel) Q. I'm a man with a slight problem. I'm a young professional, a chartered accountant. I bought a house in North Vancouver two years ago, when they were still affordable. Unfortunately I took a two-year mortgage and I had to renew this year at 22 per cent in September. This is double the amount of my mortgage payment. And I didn't even have the option of selling my house. The prices were depressed and the market was slow moving, and my disposable income has dropped significantly. In fact, I'm now borrowing money every month in order to meet the mortgage payments.

Q. And your basic point is?

(Tel) Q. My point is that I feel that I worked hard to get where I've gotten, and it has been taken away from me through the high interest rates which I hold the Government of Canada at least partially responsible for it, and we've had to cut back. I would like to see the government cut back more.

A. What percentage of your total income goes to paper shelter in various forms - mortgage and so on?

(Tel) Q. Oh, in the neighbourhood of 40 to 50 per cent.

A. Well then if it's that high you're eligible for help by the Government. Any costs above 30 per cent for shelter make you eligible either for an outright grant on your interest or for the insurance of your interest spread over a longer period of time. You should apply to the facilities afforded to you under the Budget.

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Q. I'm sorry, Sir, but I just want to clarify that. You're saying that he can certainly qualify for the guarantee given to the banks by your government if he goes into deficit financing and if he capitalizes the money he can't pay, is that right?

A. If he is spending his ... more than 30 per cent of his incoming on housing.

Q. It's not a realistic help because...

(Tel) Q. For me, I don't think...

A. Why not?

(Tel) Q. It's still only a guarantee of the loan that I have to pay. What would truly help me is if the interest rate on my mortgage was less.

A. Well, once again if you are qualified for it, it will be an outright gift for your mortgage and not only a guarantee but there will be a forgiveness.

(Tel) Q. (Inaudible) ..... $3,000?

A. It depends on the value of his house.

Q. Surely not.

A. Well, there is a limit of $3,000 a year. But look, how old are you, Sir?

(Tel) Q. I'm almost 30.

A. Well, you're not 30 yet, and what did you pay for your house?

(Tel) Q. $80,000.

A. Well, you're not exactly poor and we'll help you.

(Tel) Q. Of course, I wasn't exactly poor before I had to renew my mortage. I sure feel I am quite poor now.

A. Well, there's a lot of people in that generation before yours that could not afford a house until they were 30, 35 and ...

Q. We expected to be poor, Sir, my generation.

A. And people all want to be rich now.

Q. That's right. Is it not one of the problems of Canadians that their expectations of affluence at a young age are set at far too high a standard?

A. Well, I mean you can have expectations you want, but I don't think the nation, the government has to guarantee everybody that he will own his own home before he is 30. You know people make choices, and if they want to have a home, they just do with one car rather than two. They spent less vacations in far-off lands. I don't know about this gentleman, he may have a very real case.

Q. Just a common case, but probably too affluent too young, Sir. Too unwise in spending your money. He is not Scotch, or

Scotch Canadian, tight with a buck like you and me, Sir.

el) Q. Mr. Trudeau, in the fifties you were responsible for an excellent progressin the arts. Now, when will you be making an investment in the musical recording projects favourable tax-wise as you did for the film industry? The West can grow tremendously if we allow it to add tax revenues (inaudible)... of the American, Japanese and European economies (inaudible)....

What would happen if you put that into the Bank Act and the banks can't charge a higher rate of interest than the current inflation rate?

A. Well, on your first point, I believe we've... it's just that the performing arts, musical arts and so on, quite a bit by the Canadian content rules of radio and television. And that is still available. On your second point, it's very much like the answer I gave Jack earlier, when we were talking about interest rates. The banks cannot lend out at less than they have to pay to borrow, and when people can get, say, 19 per cent on government bonds or on corporate bonds they're not going to lend to the banks at 12 per cent. They'll lend somewhere else. The banks won't have any money to lend. That is why the important thing is to bring the inflation rate down and the interest rate down with it. And in order to do that, you have to...

Q. You're not annoyed by the banks obscene profits at all then, are you?

A. Well, anything obscene annoys me, but what is obscene profits, Jack? They have made good profits and they have made losses. I carry no grief for banks. I just know that small business bonds are paid with some of the profits they make. And if you take those profits away, they won't be able to lend money to small businessmen and to farmers at 12 per cent.

Q. One final question, Sir. With the Charter as it now is, aboriginal rights, equal rights, the opting out, the override provision, like your patriation and amending formula, when you retire will you retire happy with your proper footnote in history that you brought back the onstitution and a half decent chapter?

A. Well, I was never unhappy, except sometimes in the course of this program. But I don't expect to be unhappy when I retire. I hope I'll be happy when I retire. And as to whether I'll rate, as you say,a footnote in history, I don't know. It will depend on who writes the history, I guess.

Government Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE, NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, DECEMBER 3, 1981

TRANSCRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESS DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESS, A OTTAWA, LE 3 DECEMBER, 1981

THE CHAIRMAN: I was telling the Prime Minister that this would be the last news conference that I would be chairing. I thought I would be president for life, but this is the end.

This will be a thirty minute news conference.

There were so many rumours today that you might be resigning -- but I guess not.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Well, Jim, the question of retirement is in the air, and I have a statement to make here.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will have your statement first, sir, and then perhaps we will take questions after.

THE PRIME MINISTER: All right. Well, I am sorry that you are resigning. I, too, was hoping you would be president for life.

THE CHAIRMAN: All good things must come to an end.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Well, not all.

--(Laughter)

THE PRIME MINISTER: This news will be important, I believe, particularly for New Brunswick.

The Government approved this morning assistance to Consolidated Bathurst Incorporated to build a pulp operation and

corrugating medium facility at Bathurst, to replace a plant built in 1913.

The Federal Government's contribution consists of $19.6 million grant, and we expect the Government of New Brunswick to contribute approximately $5 million. The project will ensure the maintenance of 290 mill jobs and 740 woodland jobs when the project is completed in 1987.

Of course, DREE will be putting this together with the Government of New Brunswick.

So, let's take questions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, being a New Brunswicker, I can't help but thank you.

--(Laughter)

THE PRIME MINISTER: It was done with you in mind, Jim. You work in the woods.

--(Laughter)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have no retort. The first two questioners are Dennis Baxter and Gayle Morris.

DENNIS BAXTER (CBC Radio): Mr. Prime Minister, I am trying to resist the temptation to ask you if that was a pitch for the Liberal leadership of New Brunswick, but I won't.

I wanted to ask you, more importantly, about the judicial process in Québec. If it begins, once it has begun, will you allow it to come to completion, if that includes reference or at least a judgment by the Supreme Court, before

proceeding to London, and if you have proceeded to London with the Resolution, will you ask the British to delay until that process is completed?

A. Well, I think it is quite clear to those who read the Judgment that the Courts dealt specifically already with the question that Mr. Levesque's government is asking them. The Courts said that unanimity wasn't needed, but that a measure of agreement was needed. But they went on specifically to say: "Don't ask us what that measure of agreement is. The matter of convention is a political matter to be decided in the political arena."

So, they have already answered the question, and they have told us to decide it politically -- which it was yesterday in the House of Commons, and which it will be, I hope, in a few days in the Senate of Canada, and then of course, insofar as the British Parliament discusses it, it will be decided politically over there, too.

So, it is no longer a matter of law; it is a matter of politics. And the politics of it seem rather clear. Nine provinces, nine provincial governments and the Federal Government, and the Federal Parliament, have made their political choices, and we are proceeding to London as soon as the Resolution gets out of the Senate.

Q. A supplementary, sir. Does that, in your view, present any kind of difficulty politically-speaking inside Québec about the public's perception of that action?

A. Well, it doesn't present any difficulty that you wouldn't be aware of. Obviously, the PQ government is screaming and groaning.

You saw my answer earlier this week that I had been

offering Québec a veto for some ten years and they had been refusing it, and it is Mr. Levesque himself who signed an Accord on the 16th of April last, followed by a press release which said specifically that this Accord established that all provinces were equal.

Mr. Levesque signed that. Now that all provinces are equal, in his own admission, it is hard to see how he can claim that Québec has some kind of a special veto.

Either they all have the veto or none of them have it, if they are all equal -- and since the Court said that unanimity wasn't necessary, all don't have the veto; therefore, none of them have it.

I think that is pretty good Jesuit logic, as I usually say.

GAYLE MORRIS (CFCF TV): Prime Minister, in view of the fact that the present Québec Premier remains outside the Accord, and one of your own stated political goals over the past several years has been to bring Québec into the mainstream of Canada, do you not feel that this Constitution is perhaps, from your point of view then, personally and politically, a bitter-sweet Constitution?

A. There is no doubt in my mind about Québec being in the mainstream. We have seventy-four Members of Parliament elected from Québec who support this. There are some, I guess, is it sixty or seventy PQ members in Québec who don't support it, covering, I suppose, three-fifths of the territory. We cover ninety-five per cent of the territory of Québec.

So it depends, when you say Québec doesn't support it, it

is correct to say that the Separatist Government of Québec doesn't support it. But I always believed that Québec wanted full independence for Canada, and I think it is quite well established that Québeckers overwhelmingly want a Charter of Rights and protection of linguistic rights -- and I believe that to be true. And Mr. Levesque has been challenged to have a referendum to prove the contrary, if he thinks he can win it -- or have an election. You know, the sabre rattling about an election, suddenly, that has died out as soon as Mr. Chrétien and myself said, "well, why don't you have it and then we'll see".

You can bet your bottom dollar that, no matter how excessive the PQ militants will be this weekend in Montreal, the one thing they won't ask for is an election now.

So, where is Québec? I am a Quebecker as much as any other -- Jean Chrétien is from Québec. Québec opinion is divided, as it was in the other provinces during the past year.

PETER LLOYD (CTV News): Prime Minister, I wonder if you could bring us up to date on the latest state of discussions with the British about a possible timetable for dealing with the Constitutional request in London.

Do you hold out any hope yourself that this thing could be rushed through in time to bring the Constitution back to Canada for Christmas?

A. I am going to speak to the British Prime Minister tomorrow, I believe, if we can arrange a time for the call, and I will certainly ask her to send it home as soon as possible -- and before Christmas would be as soon as possible.

But I will say what I said in Melbourne -- that I will respect Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's judgment on how long it will

take to do it properly. In other words, I am repeating what Mr. Chrétien said -- that we are not putting any deadlines to them.

Quite honestly, if there had been a possibility of doing it, I would have thought it would be rather nice to have it done by next Friday, which is the 50th anniversary of the Statute of Westminster. But that date being out of the question, I accede completely to the judgment of the British Prime Minister and of her Cabinet in how this matter should be put to the British Parliament.

So, in that sense, it would be nice to have it very soon, before Christmas, but if it is after Christmas, well and good.

Q. A supplementary, if I might, sir. Have the British suggested to you or to your officials any timetable that they prefer?

A. I believe there has been discussion over there at levels of officials, saying it could be conveniently done early in the winter; but I haven't talked to Mrs. Thatcher, and I do not believe Mr. Chrétien has talked to Mr. Pimm, or anything like that.

I haven't considered the matter of timing since I discussed it with Mrs. Thatcher in Melbourne. I think a reasonable time will be needed, and that,I guess,will be judged on the basis of what Mrs. Thatcher said to me in Melbourne -- "if you set a deadline and if I, Margaret Thatcher, appear to push it too fast, it will just raise the backs of

those who say that they don't want to be pushed around. On the other hand, if we leave it around unsettled too long, it can damage British-Canadian relations".

And somewhere between those two statements of hers, a date will have to be found.

MARC PEPIN, NTR: Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, est-ce que vous songez à prolonger sur la scène internationale, une carrière qui, ici, semble avoir atteint son apogée? Par exemple, le Secrétaire général des Nations-Unies, Kurt Waldeim, qui a dû écouter les résultats du vote sur la Constitution hier à la télévision, a annoncé aujourd'hui qu'il ne briguait pas de troisième mandat. Ca vous ouvre une porte toute grande ouverte.

Sinon, quelles sont les ambitions qui vous restent?

R. Eh bien, l'on m'a dit, il y a quelques semaines, que le parti séparatiste voulait présenter des candidats aux prochaines élections fédérales et j'aimerais être là pour assurer leur défaite à plate couture. Ce serait une ambition noble que j'entretiendrais.

Q. Et sur la scène internationale, le poste de Monsieur Waldeim?

R. D'abord, je ne pense pas que ce que vous dites soit exact. Je crois que Monsieur Waldeim a dit qu'il ne briguait pas un autre poste de cinq ans, mais peut-être qu'il brigue un poste de deux ans sachant que d'ici deux ans, peut-être que, moi, je serai prêt à prendre ma retraite! C'est peut-être la possibilité!

RIRES DANS LA SALLE

Non, je vous l'ai dit. Je pense que vous m'aviez demandé cela à Paris, en décembre 1980. Il me semble que les débats ont établi assez clairement

Ce qui est recherché aux Nations-Unies c'est un nouveau secrétaire général qui vienne du Tiers Monde. Et même avec les chiffres sur l'économie que vous connaissez, le Canada ne fait pas encore partie du Tiers Monde.

RIRES DANS LA SALLE

Donc, c'est le tour de quelqu'un qui viendrait de l'Afrique ou de l'Amérique du Sud ou des Caraïbes ou du Pacifique, puisque l'Asie a déjà eu son tour avec U Thant. Et, je crois que c'est aussi pourquoi la Chine exerce son véto contre Waldeim, parce qu'elle veut donner au Tiers Monde la chance de présenter un candidat et de s'entendre sur un candidat.

MICHEL VASTEL, LE DEVOIR: Q. Je vous remercie, le Premier ministre, d'avoir fait une transition avec l'économie!

Vous vous rappelez que le 13 décembre 1979, votre parti a défait le gouvernement pour trois raisons: d'abord parce qu'il avait augmenté les taxes sur l'essence et le mazout, et également pour le sous-amendement NPD, que vous avez voté, parce qu'il avait failli à diminuer les taux d'intérêt et failli à stimuler la croissance de l'économie.

Depuis cette date, monsieur le Premier ministre, le taux de base de la Banque du Canada est passé de 14 à 17.05 pour cent aujourd'hui, les taux d'intérêt, en décembre 1979, étaient de 13.58 pour cent, ils sont à 17.50, le taux de croissance au troisième trimestre

de 1979 était de 5.2 pour cent, il est de -1 pour cent et les taxes sur l'essence, selon Statistiques Canada, ont augmenté de 31 pour cent au cours de la première année du programme énergétique national.

Ma question, Monsieur le Premier ministre, c'est quels avantages les Canadiens ont tiré, au plan économique, au plan énergétique, d'un changement de gouvernement?

R. Eh bien, si vous faites des statistiques rétrospectivement, la seule que vous oubliez -- et c'est commode pour vous -- c'est de parler du chômage.

Il est certain que dans la période après la défaite des Conservateurs, le chômage a indiqué une baisse dans le sens inverse de ce que les Conservateurs avaient annoncé. Je pense qu'ils parlaient d'un chômage de 9 pour cent, quelque chose comme ça. Alors, nous avons réussi à créer des emplois au Canada, dans cette période, à un rythme plus considérable que n'importe quel de nos partenaires commerciaux. Et,dans ce jeu, encore une fois, il n'y a pas de réussites absolues, loin de là. Il s'agit de savoir, dans les temps difficiles qui existent,non seulement dans le monde industriel mais dans le monde en général, quel pays s'en tire le moins mal. Pas celui qui a une performance parfaite mais celui qui s'en tire le moins mal. Et,je pense que l'ensemble de ces statistiques, y compris les prix de l'essence, vous montreront que le Canada s'en tire mieux que la plupart de ses partenaires.

Par exemple, la croissance au Canada, si faible soit-elle, si insatisfaisante soit-elle, l'OCDE parle d'une croissance de 2.3 pour cette année, de janvier à décembre, en termes moyens. Cela se compare à une croissance de moins quelque chose pour des pays comme l'Allemagne, je crois la Grande-Bretagne, et ceatera. Alors, dans ce jeu économique, un pays comme le Canada, qui est un pays exportateur, essentiellement, ne peut pas s'isoler de la réalité mondiale. Il s'agit de mettre au pouvoir un gouvernement qui s'en tirera moins mal que les autres. Si vous comparez, encore une fois, la performance canadienne, sous notre gouvernement, à la performance de la Grande-Bretagne, de l'Allemagne, des Etats-Unis, de la France, de l'Italie, vous trouverez qu'on s'en tire mieux que tout le monde sauf, peut-être, le Japon, qu'on suit de très près. Ce n'est pas, évidemment, une consolation pour ceux qui voient les prix monter et le chômage accroître. C'est fort possible que les prix continuent à monter et que le chômage continue de s'accroître. C'est fort possible.

Quand il y a une récession considérable aux Etats-Unis et chez nos principaux partenaires européens, il est sûr que le Canada ne peut pas s'en isoler. Il s'agit de savoir, étant donné l'état de guerre économique où l'on se trouve, si le gouvernement canadien a utilisé les meilleurs moyens, et il appert, par les résultats, qu'il l'a fait.

Q. Je m'excuse, Monsieur le Premier ministre, une très courte supplémentaire.

Je ne vous demandais pas de savoir si les Canadiens sont plus heureux que les Britanniques ou les Italiens.

Est-ce que vous pourriez répondre à ma question? Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que les Canadiens, aujourd'hui, sont plus satisfaits de votre gouvernement qu'ils ne l'étaient de celui de Monsieur Clark, en mai?

R. Ah! ça, je ne peux pas prétendre répondre sur le degré de satisfaction des Canadiens.

Je sais seulement que monsieur Clark a perdu les élections et que notre parti les a gagnées.

Vous me demandiez, sauf erreur, si l'économie canadienne est en meilleur état qu'elle ne l'aurait été si le budget Clark avait pris effet. Ca, je pense que ça peut se calculer.

Vous auriez, sous le budget Clark, des augmentations des prix du pétrole qui seraient plus considérables. Vous auriez, si vous vous rappelez bien, une réduction des déficits budgétaires plus considérable que celle que monsieur MacEachen prévoit. Par conséquent, vous auriez, à cause de la réduction de ces budgets-là un manque à stimuler, une approche plus grande des thèses économiques de Madame Thatcher ou de Monsieur Reagan. Monsieur Clark et

Monsieur Crosbie voulaient équilibrer la balance budgétaire plus vite que Monsieur MacEachen ne veut le faire et, par conséquent, le risque de chômage était calculé comme étant plus grand, selon leurs propres chiffres, que ce qui s'est vu dans la réalité, depuis deux ans.

Alors, c'est toujours l'éternel dilemme. Si on veut réduire l'inflation plus vite, on peut le faire en créant plus de chômage. La voie que nous avons essayé de suivre, c'était d'avoir un peu du meilleur des deux mondes: le chômage montant le moins vite possible -- et ça ne veut pas dire qu'il n'a pas monté depuis deux mois ou qu'il ne continuera pas à monter -- et l'inflation gardée sous contrôle, en même temps.

Alors, c'est cet équilibre que chaque gouvernement doit s'apprêter à viser et c'est celui-là que Monsieur MacEachen a recherché lorsqu'il a dit: "eh bien, nous allons réduire le budget un peu, moins que les Conservateurs, mais nous n'affecterons pas du tout les programmes sociaux, qu'il s'agisse des programmes à frais partagés ou des programmes que nous payons directement comme les pensions de vieillesse, les allocations familiales, tout ça qui reste indexé." C'est un choix.

LUC LAVOIE, TVA: Q. Monsieur Trudeau, l'année dernière, lorsqu'a débuté le débat qui s'est terminé, hier, en quelque sorte, à la Chambre des communes, le débat sur la Résolution constitutionnelle, vous aviez indiqué ici même

que vous vous attendiez à ce que vos députés respectent la ligne de parti. Cinq d'entre eux, hier, ne l'ont pas respectée, pour diverses raisons.

Est-ce que vous avez l'intention de prendre des sanctions, ou est-ce que vous allez tout simplement passer l'éponge?

R. J'ai toujours dit à mes députés -- et ils le savent -- qu'ils doivent voter selon leur conscience. Je me suis toujours efforcé de leur expliquer que le bien et le mal ne se jugent pas dans l'absolu mais se jugent dans le relatif, dans le pratico-pratique, comme disaient nos professeurs. Je trouve que les députés qui avaient des raisons de conscience de ne pas voter avec nous avaient appliqué la règle ancienne, à savoir que tout le monde doit agir pour le bien... Si l'on doit toujours poursuivre le bien d'une façon qui devrait être suivie par tout le monde, le résultat aurait été que nous aurions été défaits en Chambre hier, et je ne pense pas que c'est ce que les députés voulaient.

C'est facile de suivre sa conscience si on est sûr de ne pas déclencher des élections qu'on ne veut pas. Je suis convaincu que les députés qui ont voté contre nous ne souhaitaient pas provoquer des élections générales.

Alors, en somme, moi, je ne passe pas l'éponge. Je n'ai rien à pardonner. Qu'un homme ou

qu'une femme suive sa conscience, j'ai l'impression que c'est le dernier tribunal d'appel et qu'il faut l'écouter.

ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM (SOUTHAM NEWS): Prime Minister, two years ago this month, when you unretired, you said, I believe -- and I think have assured us several times since -- that you wouldn't stay to fight another election. Are you now saying that, because of changed circumstances -- the PQ factor -- that you might stay and fight another election?

A. I just might be roped into it. It wouldn't be my desire, mind you. I am not anxious to fight another election. But sometimes you can't resist a draft -- can you?

THE CHAIRMAN: That's what I thought.

--(Laughter)

HARVEY OBERFELD (BCTV): Mr. Prime Minister, in your recent visit to Vancouver you suggested that British Columbian's were unaware of what is happening in the rest of the country. In view of the fact that you have no elected members reporting to you from that region and that your own forays are fleeting and very seldom, I wonder on what you base those conclusions you seem to have reached.

A. Well, I am a little bit afraid that, because all of that was ad-libbed and wasn't in print, it was somewhat -- the point was somewhat missed. Perhaps I expressed it a bit too obscurely. But the point was that I was talking to Vancouver as -- and I made that clear in my mind -- quite what I thought to be in a sympathetic way, to say that they were representing Canada, and when I said B.C. wasn't very much aware of Canada, I think I made it quite explicit. But much as they didn't know their country, Canadians themselves didn't know their country, and in that sense I said people from Hong Kong or the United States, or from all over the world come here and get to know us better and have more confidence in our future than we do ourselves.

If the message wasn't clear, I hope I am clarifying it now. I wasn't saying that B.C. is particularly worse about knowing itself or Canada. I just think Canadians are really unconscious of the advantages they have of living in this country and of the greatness of its future -- and it was as simple as that.

The one advantage from that speech is that I will be able to deliver the whole first part again and nobody will know I ever delivered it. (Laughter) The thrust of that speech, it seems to me, was rather important in terms of signalling the new directions in Federal-Provincial relations and what I call the swinging of the pendulum, which we had, I think, deliberately stopped from swinging towards too great

provincialism. That I think is an important message, but it isn't the one that got the people's attention, or the media's attention.

Q. A quick supplementary. I notice that when you first became Prime Minister, there were twenty-seven Liberals sent from the western provinces to Ottawa; now ---

A. You noticed that!

(Laughter)

Q. Yes. I am wondering, sir, to what extent you think perhaps your own insensitivities to the feelings of Westerners is responsible for the current situation you now find yourself in in the west.

A. I guess a lot of people in the west don't like me very much -- but they didn't like Mr. Pearson very much and they didn't like Mr. St. Laurent very much.

If one looks at the statistics, I think over the five elections I have had, I have had the highest percentage of votes from the west of any Liberal Prime Minister since Mackenzie King's day. I think we vary between twenty-three per cent of the vote in the west and as high as thirty-seven per cent in 1968.

So, in that sense, it is possible that my insensitivity to the west -- they are such exquisite sensitive people that maybe they don't like my rough and tumble way of

approaching problems. Maybe they need somebody really refined, like they had under Mr. Clark, who could get a bit closer to their mode of life. (Laughter)

So, you may be right.

ERIC BEAUCHESNE (UPC) Sir, despite your optimism ---

A. Or Mr. Diefenbaker. (Laughter)

Q. Despite your optimism about the economy, high interest rates have pushed the economy into a slump, its worst slump in thirty years. I am just wondering if there is any limit to how long you will follow your high interest rate policy or how much you will ask Canadians to endure if your policies show no sign of success, and if there is a limit, what is it?

A. I think it would be important to point out to you that there is no high interest rate policy. There are high interest rates. But by no stretch of the imagination can you say that there is a policy for high interest rates.

Perhaps our policy is -- I was saying that yesterday; I forget to whom -- we don't have a low interest rate policy in the sense that we are not bringing in exchange controls. If we had exchange controls and we told Canadians that they couldn't move money out of the country and that foreign trade and exchange and travel, and so on, would be tightly controlled, then we could have lower interest rates. But we have, unfortunately, a policy that believes in a certain freedom of the marketplace and the freedom of people

to move their money in and out of the country, and as long as that is possible, the high interest rates in our major trading partner, the United States, will have the effect of causing high interest rates in Canada.

It is true that now the interest rates in the United States are slightly lower than in Canada, but so is inflation. I think our job will be to try and continue to bring inflation down, and with it, interest rates.

So, we don't have a high interest rate policy. Maybe you will want to ask (for) further explanations, but I think it is important that you understand that we are not planning or trying to have high interest rates.

It is Canadians who are lending money to the Government of Canada, for instance, to buy savings bonds at 19½%. We would love to borrow money at 15%, or at 10% -- and I wish you would be the first to offer to lend money to the Government of Canada at 10%. If enough good Canadians did that, particularly from the media, it could give a good example and then we would be able to have lower interest rates. But people are asking what the market is deciding. They are getting as much as they can in terms of interest rates.

So, we don't have a high interest rate policy. I guess banks and other lenders have the highest interest rate possible -- and that is their job. If you are selling a car, or a shirt, or a locomotive, you get the highest price possible. But the Government isn't in the business of selling

money. Its just in the business of trying to redistribute it. And in order to borrow it from Canadians, we have to pay 19% for it. That is high indeed, but that is your fault, not mine.

Q. A supplementary. That seems in direct conflict with Mr. Bouey, who said that high interest rates are necessary to curb inflation. But still my question remains: How long will you follow your current economic policies? Is there any limit, if they do not show signs of success -- and Mr. Bouey says that so far they haven't?

A. Well, I can't speak for Mr. Bouey, but you will recall it is just about four or five months ago that interest rates were at 22%, and now they are at 17%. What other evidence do you want?

Isn't that a reasonable fall, a beginning of an indication that something is happening -- a fall of more than 25% in the past three or four months in interest rates?

BILL FOX (TORONTO STAR): Sir, I would like to pursue the point about Mr. Levesque having been the one who gave up Québec's traditional veto. He argued that the Accord that he signed included full financial compensation for any future opting out, and he says its the same as if you buy a house, or you offer to buy a house, and you say I will give you $40,000 down. If you show up without the $40,000, you don't get the house. He also argues that that means he goes back to square one and you are, in essence, back to the veto.

What do you counter to that suggestion, that its in fact an incomplet deal?

A. My answer is that I told him, when I brought in compensation for universities and for language and culture, that I would be prepared to discuss compensation, if he wanted to sit down and discuss it.

Mr. Levesque has been offered repeatedly to meet and try and improve the bargain for him. But it seems quite obvious to me -- and I think now it is obvious to Mr. Clark, who offered him full compensation, and who offered him, also, not to have any Québec clause in the Constitution, and he was turned down flat on both scores. It would have been a great tactical coup for Mr. Levesque to say, "I got it from Mr. Clark and I couldn't get it from Mr. Trudeau". But, you know, the point is, he doesn't want to buy the house because the house is called Canada, and he wants to break it down, not buy it. But also, I must point out to you that though Mr. Levesque's position was linked to compensation, as I was saying, I believe, in answer to the first question, it was also linked to a statement and a political belief that all provinces are equal.

So, what does compensation become? Are they at half mast because they haven't been paid enough for opting out, or what? And is it a matter of principle, or is it a matter of money? You know the old joke.

Q. A quick supplementary on the matter of principle. Mr. Allmand pointed out in the House the other day, that when you people were selling us on the merits of a

Charter, you argued that it would be a good idea to remove these rights from the control of legislatures and enshrine them in a Constitution. He then asked you why, when it comes to English-speaking Québeckers, it seems okay to leave their rights protected under Bill 101. He sort of put that question to you in the House. I wonder if you have an answer for it?

A. I don't recall him putting that question to me. When?

Q. When he gave his speech the other day he said that the alterations, particularly in Clause 59 ---

A. Well, I am sorry. I didn't hear the question, or read the speech. But ask the question. I may deal with it.

Q. Well, he said flat out that your concessions to Québec were done on the backs of his constituents; i.e. one million English-speaking Québeckers.

Do you have any comment on that?

A. Yes, that I am sorry that we haven't got full freedom of choice in Québec -- and that, unfortunately, reduces some of the rights of the Anglos, but it reduces even more drastically the rights of the Francos in Québec. They are the people who can't choose their schools freely.

Any English-speaking parent in Québec -- or, under our Charter, from any other province who moves to Québec -- who wants to have his kids go to English schools, or continue their education in English schools, can do it. But the same is not true for the French-speaking Québeckers. They

can't choose French or English schools. They have to go to French schools. The English Quebecker can choose French or English -- he's got a freedom of choice.

If you want me to say that the Charter is not perfect, even in its language provisions because it doesn't give absolute freedom of choice, the answer is yes. That's obvious. And the Charter is not perfect in many other respects either.

But I guess the question one must ask Mr. Allmand is, is it easier to fight separatism -- or, for that matter, ultra-provincialism -- with the Charter we have, or would it have been better to go to London with a full loaf but with eight premiers against us and the Supreme Court saying that it may be legal but it wasn't constitutional?

I guess that question will be asked for a long time, but I don't think many people, particularly historians, will be in great doubt as to what the better choice was.

If we -- and we could have -- if we had said, "Well, there is no agreement possible on anything and we are going to go with the Charter", well, it might be out of the House now; it might not be. It might be on its way to London, or it might not be. But whether it would get back from London and in what circumstances, it is very difficult (to say).

It is quite obvious that the Supreme Court decision of September, 1981, was a turning point in my approach

to this whole question. If the Courts had said it's legal and that's it -- well, we would be off to London, and happily with not only a better Charter, but a better amending formula. But the Court said that it wouldn't be constitutional -- and that's a pretty important decision. And considering that decision, I still think we made one heck of a good deal. It's unbelievably good, in the sense that it could have been incredibly worse. Remember what we were offering the provinces in the month of February, 1979. I think it is Richard Gwynn who was quoting me as saying that I had given the store away -- and he was almost right. You know, we were giving them some overview of international trade to the provinces; we were limiting the spending power I think, the declaratory power -- I can't even remember. At some stage, I had been prepared to give up the right of disallowance and reservation.

I think this is just stage one of the constitutional reform -- and that is maybe why I have to stay on a little longer. We've got all the aces. We've got the right of disallowance; we've got the right of reservation; we've got the declaratory power; we've got the expropriatory power on the peace, order and good government; we've got the entrenchment of both official languages, which can never be removed; we've got French in the educational system of all of the English provinces.

I would be -- but it's not the best charter. It's not as good as the one that we would have had if the Courts had decided otherwise, or if the provinces and the Opposition

parties hadn't killed the momentum. But that's why it will take a bit longer. In Canada, the Canadian way is to do things in -- why do things in halves, when you can do them in quarters, as Frank Scott once said. So, we are doing things by quarters. But, I can't help chuckling when I see what we've got now compared to what the provinces could have received if they had said yes in the winter of 1979, or compared to what they were asking for just in September, 1980.

But let's not gloat too much, because the thing isn't back yet and it's not proclaimed yet, and there's many a slip. Who knows, maybe something will go wrong, as Murphy says. And then if it does, I bet you will then begin to say, "Oh, but it was an incredibly good thing. Too bad it didn't..."

I remember -- I have recalled this before -- at the time of the Victoria Charter, when it looked as though it was going to be all put together, already the pundits were saying, "Big deal. You know, they call it a Charter. What's it do for us? It just bring the Constitution home and entrenches a few rights and sets the Supreme Court, and everything else".

Its all easy, except when it becomes impossible.

ARTEM MELIKYAN (TASS NEWS): Mr. Prime Minister, yesterday the Citizen reported that the American Ambassador to Canada spent four days on board the Canadian ships taking part in training exercises of the Gulf of St. Lawrence,

and later the Ambassador said in his interview with The Citizen, and I quote --

A. This is the Canadian Ambassador?

Q. No, the American Ambassador.

A. To Canada?

Q. Yes. And he said: "I personally think that this is a part of the world where the next war will be fought."

A. Gee.

Q. My question is, do you believe, as the American Ambassador implies, that Canada may become another possible theatre of nuclear war, like Europe?

A. I can't speak for the Ambassador -- you would have to ask him -- but I think what he had in mind was the Constitutional war -- flags at half mast, and all that. Don't you think that he was talking tongue in cheek? You know the Ambassador.

Government
Publication

TRANSCRIPTION DE L'ENTREVUE DU PREMIER MINISTRE ACCORDEE A MICHEL JASMIN, AU RESEAU TVA, LE 16 DECEMBRE 1981

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH MICHEL JASMIN, TVA, DECEMBER 16, 1981

M. JASMIN: En tout premier, je vous remercie d'avoir accepté notre invitation.

M. TRUDEAU: Bien, Michel, merci de m'avoir invité. Je suis très content d'être là.

M. JASMIN: Deuxièmement, je veux m'excuser d'avoir effectué autant de pression.

M. TRUDEAU: Je n'ai pas senti la pression, sauf de temps en temps les ministres disaient: "C'est un bon programme, tu devrais y aller." Je sais que c'est un bon programme, mais...

M. JASMIN: On en avait parlé à M. Prud'homme, à M. Fox, à M. Chrétien...

M. TRUDEAU: ... à Joyal, je pense...

M. JASMIN: ...à Serge Joyal aussi, on en avait parlé, effectivement.

M. TRUDEAU: Ce sont des bons ministres, alors je les écoute.

M. JASMIN: Il faut bien les messages, en tout cas.

M. TRUDEAU: Les députés sont encore meilleurs.

M. JASMIN: Alors à tour de rôle, peut-être, éventuellement. Est-ce que c'est possible, Monsieur Trudeau,

pendant un certain nombre de minutes, de dissocier Pierre Elliott Trudeau, l'homme politique, et Pierre Elliott Trudeau, l'homme?

M. TRUDEAU: Je fais ça 20 fois par jour. Alors, je ne devrais pas avoir de difficulté à le faire avec vous.

M. JASMIN: Vous le faites 20 fois par jour? Qu'est-ce qui vous amène à le faire 20 fois par jour?

M. TRUDEAU: Eh bien, à l'heure des repas, quand je joue avec mes enfants, quand je me mets au lit, quand je lis un bouquin. Je ferme le robinet de la politique et...

M. JASMIN: Est-ce possible de le faire, de se couper complètement, de se cloisonner?

M. TRUDEAU: C'est probablement impossible d'être en politique ou en affaires si on ne peut pas se couper, parce qu'on apporterait ses problèmes au lit, on aurait des ulcères, on aura des angoisses. Il faut complètement fermer le robinet.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que vous vous obligez, par exemple, à des temps libres? Est-ce que vous vous obligez, comme M. DeGaspé-Beaubien me le disait / tantôt, par exemple, à faire de l'exercice? Je sais que vous êtes passablement sportif, on l'a souvent vu. Mais est-ce qu'encore aujourd'hui vous gardez...

M. TRUDEAU: Je fais du sport par plaisir, mais je fais de l'exercice presque par obligation. A la fin de la journée, à 6 h 30, je suis vraiment claqué. Et je serais complètement marabout avec mes enfants si j'arrivais, sans faire de l'exercise. Alors je fais une demie-heure de natation et je suis en grande forme.

M. JASMIN: Permettez-moi une curiosité. Est-ce que vous faites toujours 44 longueurs de piscine? Pourquoi 44?

M. TRUDEAU: Eh bien, parce que c'est un tiers de mille, et je commence par faire ça et ensuite, si j'ai le temps, avant que les enfants arrivent, j'en fais plus.

M. JASMIN: C'est une discipline de vie ça.

M. TRUDEAU: Non, mais quand j'ai commencé, ça me prenait à peu près 15 minutes pour faire ça. Ca va un peu plus vite maintenant. Je trouvais que c'était un bon commencement, un minimum, et si on a le temps d'en faire plus, on en fait plus.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que pour récupérer vous avez besoin de...

M. TRUDEAU: Mais je ne compte pas 44 fois. Je fais ça une fois par deux mois pour savoir, comme vous d'ailleurs, si on s'améliore. Mais je regarde à peu près l'heure, et si j'ai fait 15, 20, 25 minutes j'arrête.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que pour récupérer vous avez besoin d'un nombre fixe d'heures de sommeil, et de vous y forcer à ces heures de sommeil?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, en moyenne il me faut huit heures de sommeil. J'aimerais bien dire moins, mais si, en moyenne, je ne dors pas huit heures, je suis de mauvaise humeur. Je peux faire quatre, cinq jours à beaucoup moins. Mais alors, en week-end, il faut dormir davantage. Or, c'est mon cas.

M. JASMIN: Si on fait la répartition un peu des années de votre vie, il y a 48 années de votre vie que vous n'avez pas

passées en politique ...

M. TRUDEAU: Quarante-six. J'ai été élu en 65.

M. JASMIN: En 65 pour la première fois et ensuite en 68 comme chef...

M. TRUDEAU: ...72, 74, 79 et 80.

M. JASMIN: Si on revenait au tout début, si vous permettez Vous avez étudié au Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf ici à Montréal. Vous y avez passé huit ans.

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, on étudiait dans ce temps-là.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que ça a marqué beaucoup l'homme que vous êtes aujourd'hui, ces huit ans avec les Jésuites, ces huit ans au Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, j'ai trouvé des gens là, des professeurs qui ont su m'apprendre une discipline intellectuelle. Ce qui est l'essentiel de l'éducation, je pense. Savoir où la science se trouve et savoir comment faire sortir de soi son potentiel. Je comprends l'éducation beaucoup plus comme de tirer quelque chose d'un enfant ou d'un étudiant, pour voir ce qu'il a en lui plutôt que d'y emmagasiner des choses. J'ai eu des professeurs qui m'ont fait comprendre ça.

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Mais est-ce que vous étiez un étudiant qui aimait étudier? Est-ce que c'est une période dont vous gardez un bon souvenir ou si vous avez...

M. TRUDEAU: A dire la vérité, j'avais presque la manie d'apprendre. Si le professeur disait: "Bien, vous lirez les chapitres 1, 6, 8 et 10, puis le reste..." Je ne pouvais pas passer par-dessus le reste. Il fallaitque je connaisse toute la science. C'était

une obsession. Un peu maladive ... Enfin, disons, un peu jeune-jeune. Je me suis guéri de ça maintenant. Je ne porte pas le monde sur mes épaules à tous les jours. Je le mets par terre comme vous le dites...

M. JASMIN: Vingt fois par jour au moins? Dans les premières années de votre vie, vous portiez le nom de Pierre Trudeau. A un certain moment, vous avez rajouté Elliott. Pourquoi et à quel moment vous avez rajouté Elliott?

M. TRUDEAU: Joseph-Pierre-Yves-Philippe-Elliott... Je les avais tous. Il y avait deux autres Pierre Trudeau au collège. Il s'est agi de choisir un nom qui était moins banal que les autres, qui ne me ferait pas identifier aux autres Alors, j'ai trouvé celui qui était le moins banal, Elliott.

M. JASMIN: D'autant plus que c'était, sauf erreur, le nom de fille de votre mère.

M. TRUDEAU: De ma mère.

M. JASMIN: Qui vous a inculqué ce goût de liberté qui vous a animé - qui vous anime peut-être encore ajourd'hui - pendant de nombreuses années...

M. TRUDEAU: Je pense que pour paraphraser Rousseau: "L'homme est né libre." Je pense qu'on aime la liberté et j'ai eu la chance d'avoir des parents et des professeurs et des amis qui n'ont pas essayé de brimer cette liberté.. Ils l'ont plutôt encouragée. Et j'ai appris assez tôt que la discipline qu'il importait d'avoir, c'était celle qu'on s'imposait à soi-même, plutôt que celle qui nous était imposée de l'extérieur.

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Est-ce qu'un Premier ministre ça peut se sentir libre?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui. J'entendais Antonine, tout à l'heure, dire qu'en littérature, on fait ce qu'on peut et non ce qu'on veut. On est toujours contraint par les règles de l'art ou par la situation objective en politique. Mais on est libre. On est libre de choisir. On fait les choix qu'on veut, et on fait la politique qu'on peut. Parce que c'est une grande barque que le navire de l'Etat. Alors on suit des politiques et on n'y arrive jamais tout à fait. On disait que la politique est l'art du possible. Moi, je pense que c'est plutôt l'art de l'impossible. Gouverner un pays complex dans les temps modernes, c'est difficile. Et on n'a pas toujours les résultats qu'on veut.

M. JASMIN: La liberté pour vous, ça été important Vous avez parcouru le monde. Vous avez fait le tour du monde, à quelques reprises. Vous avez même fait un tour du monde en solitaire qui, au moment que vous l'avez fait, n'était pas très, très commun je pense.

M. TRUDEAU: Non, à ce moment-là, il n'y avait pas beaucoup de gens pour bourlinguer, pour prendre son sac et faire le tour du monde. J'ai été favorisé. Je me suis marié tard, j'avais de la liberté. Je n'étais pas obligé de gagner immédiatement mon sel et j'en ai profité pour...

M. JASMIN: Quand vous êtes arrivé en politique, est-ce que ça n'a pas un peu réduit cette liberté-là? Est-ce que vous avez eu conscience que ça vous faisait perdre un peu cette liberté-là que vous aviez?

M. TRUDEAU: Dès qu'on travaille, on perd un peu de sa liberté. Il s'agit de choisir le travail où on peut s'exprimer le mieux. Il est certain, qu'on soit en politique ou en littérature, ou qu'on pratique un sport exigeant, ou qu'on soit dans les affaires, on est obligé de suivre les contraintes, les règles de ce métier ou de cet art. Et en politique, c'est pareil. On est obligé de perdre un peu de cette liberté-là. Mais le poète n'est pas libre, l'artiste n'est pas libre. Il doit agir avec des mots, avec ses pinceaux. Alors, on a cette même contrainte.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que vous écrivez encore aujourd'hui?

M. TRUDEAU: Très peu, malheureusement. Je corrige surtout les textes que les autres me font! Ils me trouvent fort exigeant! Et je déplore que les gens aujourd'hui ne connaissent pas très bien leur grammaire. Surtout pas en anglais et encore moins en français. Bon, peut-être moins en anglais. Vous êtes d'accord?

ALAIN STANKÇ: Je cherche un bon correcteur. Vous n'auriez pas...

M. JASMIN: Bien là, vous l'avez déjà été, sauf erreur, dans le temps de Cité Libre?

M. TRUDEAU: Ah, oui, oui. J'ai été correcteur d'épreuves.

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Mais si vous cessiez d'être en politique, est-ce que vous auriez envie de recommencer à écrire? Est-ce que ça fait partie des choses que vous aimeriez refaire?

M. TRUDEAU: J'aime beaucoup m'exprimer par l'écriture, oui. Ca oblige à réfléchir et c'est cette sorte d'entreprise où on est seul avec sa pensée, avec soi-même. Et que ce soit dans les sports ou dans l'action, ou dans l'expression de son art,

j'aime toujours ces sports ou ces actions où on lutte contre soi-même, plutôt que contre les autres. Ecrire, on lutte vraiment contre soi-même, je pense...

ANTONINE MAILLET: Mais ce n'est pas plus facile que la politique.

M. TRUDEAU: C'est pas plus facile? Non, je ne pense pas. On improvise plus en politique que lorsqu'on écrit. Vous pouvez refaire des textes. Vous pouvez les reprendre, les polir. Tandis que quand on a à répondre, à chaque jour, au Parlement, pendant trois quarts d'heure...

M. JASMIN: On n'a pas toujours le temps...

M. TRUDEAU: C'est comme cette interview, maintenant. Ca nous sort et, des fois, c'est pas très fignolé!

M. JASMIN: Vous savez, monsieur Trudeau, on a tenté de vous faire une surprise. Mais c'est très difficile de vous prendre par surprise. Je sais qu'on vous a informé de la présence de notre prochaine invitée. Cependant, je sais que c'est quelqu'un que vous aimez beaucoup et que nous aussi on aime beaucoup: Madame Ginette Reno.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce qu'il vous arrive, monsieur Trudeau, de vous permettre des soirées au spectacle, de vous permettre des soirées au théâtre?

M. TRUDEAU: Pas tellement souvent, malheureusement.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que ça vous manque un peu ça?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, un peu. C'est peut-être ce manque...

M. JASMIN: Un des désavantages inhérents...

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, on n'a pas tellement de temps pour aller au spectacle.

GINETTE RENO: Mais ça ne fait rien. Il y a eu des soirées comme ça où j'ai accompagné le Premier ministre.

M. JASMIN: Oui?

QUESTION: Oui, les soirées des Juno. A chaque année, les Juno Awards. J'ai eu le plaisir d'être... l'honneur d'être assise à côté du Premier ministre.

M. TRUDEAU: Bien avant ça, Ginette. A Churchill Falls...

GINETTE RENO: Oui, je me rappelle.

M. TRUDEAU: Combien d'années? Quand ils ont ouvert les grands barrages. Ginette était l'invitée d'honneur...

GINETTE RENO: Oui, j'avais reçu une belle grande lettre. On reçoit ça puis on garde ça en souvenir. Ca brille! Il y a toutes sortes de belles affaires, ça vient du Premier ministre! Tu lis ça et puis tu es tout énervée!

M. TRUDEAU: On a toujours l'espoir qu'elle va répondre, mais elle n'a pas répondu

M. JASMIN: Mais vous la rencontrez en personne ce soir.

M. TRUDEAU: Je suis heureux de vous voir.

M. JASMIN: Mais, je vois... Voyez-vous, Ginette parlait de la soirée des Juno Awards et tout de suite vous vous rappelez un autre souvenir. Vous avez une mémoire qui est phénoménale.

M. TRUDEAU: Bien, pour certaines choses, oui.

M. JASMIN: Pour certaines choses... Parce que je veux en venir à quelque chose de bien particulier. Au cours des derniers 18 mois, on m'a souvent, souvent écrit. Des gens m'ont écrit pour me dire: "pourquoi vous n'invitez pas M. Trudeau, pourquoi

vous n'invitez pas M. Trudeau? Et presque à chaque fois, dans chacune des lettres que je recevais, les gens me disaient: "Vous lui demanderez de réciter des poèmes. Il récite des poèmes de façon magnifique." Il paraît que vous récitez, entre autres, du Beaudelaire, des extraits de Beaudelaire,et des choses comme ça.

M. TRUDEAU: C'est vrai les choses que j'apprenais par plaisir quand j'avais le temps de lire la poésie. Je me souviens bien de ces choses.

M. JASMIN: Vous les avez gardées en mémoire?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui. Ce que j'oublie plus facilement ce sont les noms de mes ennemis !

M. JASMIN: Oui?

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Ce n'est pas important de retenir ça de toute façon.

M. JASMIN: C'est peut-être mieux d'ailleurs.

M. TRUDEAU: Vous ne voulez pas que je vous récite quelque chose, sur la scène-là!

M. JASMIN: Mais ce n'est pas nécessaire d'aller là. ce sont probablement des choses qui s'enregistrent dans le subconscient et qui ressortent,à un certain moment.

M. TRUDEAU: Oui les choses qui sont belles, on les retient.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que, monsieur Trudeau, dans vos trois fils,vous allez chercher, vous allez puiser un rajeunissement psychologique? Est-ce que vous allez vous ressourcer auprès de ces trois enfants-là,aussi?

M. TRUDEAU: Je ne sais pas si ça va arriver. Ce n'est pas ce qu'on recherche. On recherche à être présent à ses enfants. Mais,presqu' inévitablement, les parents apprennent de leurs enfants, les voient s'épanouir et redécouvrent en eux des mémoires d'enfant ou des émotions qui s'étaient un peu estompées dans leur propre mémoire.

M. JASMIN: Mais est-ce que vous êtes aussi présent avec eux que vous souhaiteriez l'être?

M. TRUDEAU: Oui, mais c'est comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure. Comme la politique prend beaucoup de place et beaucoup de temps, - dans les moments où on n'en fait pas - se libérer complètement pour être avec ceux avec qui on est. Avec vous, avec les enfants...

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Si un de vos enfants vous annonçait un jour qu'il avait envie de faire de la politique. Qu'est-ce que vous lui diriez?

M. TRUDEAU: 'Oh, c'est tellement peu probable... Vous voulez dire plus tard, vous?

LOUISE DESCHATELETS: Oui, si ça se produisait, auriez-vous un conseil à lui donner, ou seriez-vous négatif?

M. TRUDEAU: Non, je lui dirais de ne pas choisir son parti trop jeune ! Quand je vois des enfants, les miens ou ceux des autres, et que tout à coup ils ont des chagrins pour un rien, une indignation, ça me fait presque rire. C'est pas parce qu'on n'est pas en sympathie avec l'indignation. Mais les ressorts sont tellement primitifs. On se fâche pour un croc-en-jambe, on pardonne aussi vite. Les larmes viennent et

se sèchent. Alors je pense que c'est ça la liberté dont je vous parlais tout à l'heure: que les éducateurs doivent encourager et, encore une fois, leur imposer une autodiscipline plutôt que de dire: "Ah, je te défends de pleurer".

M. JASMIN: Est-ce qu'aujourd'hui, après toutes ces années en politique, est-ce que les critiques vous touchent encore?

M. TRUDEAU: Non, ça je dois dire que je pense avoir développé, très jeune, une sorte de tempérament de Cyrano, que je lisais d'ailleurs avec passion...

M. JASMIN: Et que vous pourriez encore réciter... La tirade de Cyrano.

M. TRUDEAU: ... et dans un sens peut-être que c'était une faiblesse, un complexe d'infériorité, je le sais. Mais je me suis obligé à me donner confiance en moi, et à ne pas être écrasé par la critique.

M. JASMIN: Je suis bien content que vous disiez ça. Je suis très content parce que je voudrais vous présenter notre plus grand caricaturiste canadien, je pense. M. Robert Lapalme, qui est ici.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que vous avez souvent caricaturé M. Trudeau?

M. LAPALME: Très peu. J'ai laissé la carrière quand il a été élu. Et en cela, j'ai perdu une belle victime.

M. JASMIN: Pourquoi une belle victime?

M. LAPALME: Par ce que je vois par les journaux, je trouve qu'on a l'air d'avoir beaucoup de plaisir à le caricaturer ... (conversation continue)

M. TRUDEAU: Tous les critiques font ça. Vous amplifiez surtout les défauts, n'est-ce pas?

M. LAPALME: Il y a chez M. Trudeau une volonté ...

M. TRUDEAU: ... il n'y a pas de défauts!

M. LAPALME: ... qui se voit, qui se sent, dans l'arcade sourcilière. Il y a l'esprit qui se trahit, qui se montre, par le sourire, pas sa façon moqueuse de rire.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que vous avez quelque talent pour le dessin, Monsieur Trudeau?

M. TRUDEAU: Pas tellement. J'ai essayé ça aussi, à l'âge de 15 ans, il y a 20 ans!

M. JASMIN: C'est comme le Parti. Vous ne vouliez pas choisir trop jeune!

M. TRUDEAU: Non. Je me suis mis à faire du fusain, mais je n'avais pas un grand talent.

M. JASMIN: Est-ce que vous envisagez, éventuellement, de vous retirer du monde politique? Et vous voudriez faire quoi, en vous retirant?

M. TRUDEAU: Ce n'est pas décidé encore, ni quand je me retire, ni ce que je ferai. Mais il est très probable que je ne ferai rien qui m'éloignera de ma maison, de ma famille. Je ne ferai plus de politique, ou les affaires ou les métiers que mes amis, ici ce soir, ont. Je ferai probablement comme toi, Robert. J'abandonnerai le métier, et je continuerai d'apprendre à vivre.

M. JASMIN: Vous remettre à voyager un peu, peut-être. Quoique vous l'avez passablement fait, pour la politique.

M. TRUDEAU: Non, je serai disponible aux trains qui passent, aux invitations qui seront là, et je choisirai.

M. JASMIN: Je vous remercie beaucoup Monsieur Trudeau, de nous avoir accordé cette soirée. Ca m'a fait grandement plaisir.

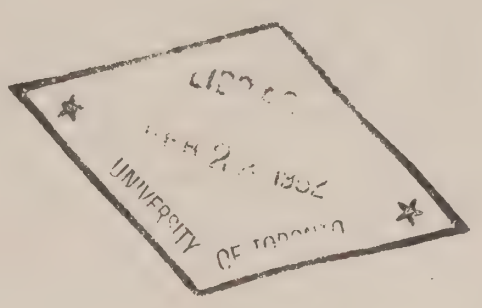
M. TRUDEAU: Merci, Michel, de m'avoir invité ...

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Government
Publications

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEWS CONFERENCE, NATIONAL PRESS THEATRE, OTTAWA, DECEMBER 18, 1981

TRANSPRIPTION DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESS DU PREMIER MINISTRE AU THEATRE NATIONAL DE LA PRESS, A OTTAWA, LE 18 DEDEMBRE, 1981



JACK BEST (Canada World News): Mr. Trudeau, yesterday in the House of Commons, the government blocked a fairly moderate move on the part of the Opposition to call on the Polish Government to lift martial law, and also rejecting the idea of outside intervention. I was wondering whether this accords with your personal feelings, or whether, on the other hand, you would not agree that this would have been a fairly minimal gesture of solidarity on behalf of the Polish people in the present situation.

A. Sorry, I didn't read the Motion. I understand Mr.MacGuigan gave several answers in the House. There was a part of the Motion which might have been objectionable. I don't know what. I haven't read it. But it would be usual -- and it is often done -- that when you are going to move a motion like that where you expect a bipartisan approach, that the other party is made aware of what the content

of the Motion is.

So, there may be something in it that Mr. MacGuigan found objectionable. You would have to ask him. Sorry.

Q. A brief supplementary on the Polish situation. We have been told that the Government intends to honour its present credit arrangements with Poland having to do with foodstuffs, and other things.

Is this policy subject to review, and if so, under what circumstances might it be changed?

A. Well, obviously policies can always be reviewed, but I foresee no circumstances now where there would be a change of that policy. We have long-term credit extended to Poland -- I think some $500 million this year -- so that it can buy foodstuffs, and we believe that this is a very good way to help stabilize the situation in Poland and help the Polish people settle the problem themselves.

If we were to have some evidence that the grain wasn't being used for the Polish people, or something like that, obviously we would have to revise it. But you know our policy from the outset has been to hope that the Polish people would exercise the proper amount of restraint and good judgment - which they have thus far -- to not justify any foreign intervention. The situation is getting bad now with martial law, as you put it; but that is no reason that I can see, that the government can see, to, in effect, boycott Poland and cut off food supplies to them. I think that would be a mistake.

There is not much I can say beyond that -- yes,

maybe one thing as far as the government is concerned, and it is that we have repeatedly told the Polish Embassy here that we would like to see communications restored. I think that that is a very unfortunate side of the events in Poland, because it makes you wonder what the military regime is trying to hide. There are circumstances where order has to be imposed, but it would be, I think, a good thing if the outside world were able to have communications with what is going on there so that any abuses of civil liberties or unnecessary use of violence would be made known and reported to the outside world.

So, in that sense I think the best role we could play now would be to have communications re-opened, and it would be in the interests of the Polish regime themselves to have observers, as Canada is, impartially in there reporting on what is happening.

I wouldn't purport to make a judgment on whatever decision the Polish authorities make, but it would be a function we could play to report any abuses going on there and any unjustified violence, and so on. And of course beyond that we are concerned for the some few hundred Canadians who are in Poland. But the indirect evidence that the Minister has had is to the effect that they are not in any danger.

So, the big thing that remains is for us to express whatever support we can for the Polish people in Canada, who are very worried with the events there.

MARC PEPIN (Nouvelles Télé-radio) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, ma question est exactement dans le même sens; je m'en excuse un peu à l'avance.

J'aimerais savoir si le Canada prendra des sanctions économiques ou politiques concernant la Pologne et quelle est votre limite de tolérance à l'endroit de la répression qui est en cours, là-bas, et deuxièmem que se passe-t-il dans les communications entre votre ambassade à Varsovie et le secrétariat aux Affaires extérieures? Ca fait deux jours que monsieur MacGuigan répète, -- sans rire, d'ailleurs -- qu'il n'y a pas de violence là-bas.

R. Eh bien, effectivement, comme je viens de l'expliquer, l'essentiel du point de vue gouvernemental, maintenant, sera que nous puissions rétablir les communications avec notre ambassade en Pologne, précisément pour pouvoir - comme le Canada est reconnu comme un pays impartial, certainement pas violemment anti-soviétique et pas violemment anti-américain, quelque part dans le camp de l'OTAN mais avec de bonnes relations avec certains pays de l'est - il serait important que nous puissions, en observateur, nous faire rapport à nous, au gouvernement, sur l'état des choses là. Et, si le régime militaire là-bas se sentait surveillé dans sa bonne conduite, ça ne serait peut-être pas une mauvaise chose; ça serait une garantie contre des excès.

Quand monsieur MacGuigan répète qu'à notre connaissance, il n'y a pas de violence, il

parlait ainsi jusqu'à ce qu'on aprenne qu'il y a eu sept morts. Mais, d'une façon générale, ce sont des informations qu'il obtient d'une façon indirecte, c'est-à-dire par d'autres pays alliés qui ont des sources d'information en Pologne, ce que nous n'avons pas.

Est-ce que j'ai perdu une partie de la question?

Q. Oui, la première partie de la question, monsieur Trudeau.

Je vous demandais quelle était votre limite de tolérance au sujet de la répression pour décider si vous allez prendre ou non des sanctions économiques ou politiques contre la Pologne.

R. Nous avons eu comme politique, depuis le début -- je crois qu'elle reste la bonne -- de nous en remettre au peuple polonais et aux autorités polonaises pour résoudre leurs problèmes de sorte qu'il n'y ait de justification pour aucun camp, ni de l'Est ni de l'Ouest, d'intervenir dans les affaires polonaises. C'est une politique que nous avons suivie et que nous continuons de suivre. Je pense que c'est la bonne.

Il y a d'autres pays qui se sont donnés des régimes militaires avec lesquels nous n'avons pas brisé les relations diplomatiques. Il s'agit de savoir si le régime polonais, actuellement, va tomber dans des abus et dans l'excès, dans la violence, la torture et tout le reste. Et, à ce moment-là, nous devrons peut-être porter un

jugement. Mais, pour le moment, nous regrettons que les autorités polonaises aient dû, pour maintenir l'ordre, proclamer un régime militaire, un régime martial. Mais, encore une fois, je crois que c'est au peuple polonais d'essayer de trouver une solution à ce problème et la meilleure aide que nous puissions donner, c'est une aide économique, surtout dans le domaine alimentaire, pour nous assurer que la faim et la misère ne poussent pas les gens à faire une révolte irrationnelle qui serait probablement désastreuse et qui pourrait mener à une guerre civile.

Il est certain - j'ai dit cela il y a longtemps - que s'il y a une guerre civile en Pologne, il y a bien des chances que les Soviétiques interviendraie pour ne pas permettre une guerre civile sur ses frontières.

Alors, tout ce qui empêche la guerre civile, pour moi, c'est un pas positif. Si un régime militaire a comme effet d'empêcher une guerre civile, je ne peux pas, à l'avance, dire que c'est mauvais. Ca dépendrait des conditions dans lesquelles l'ordre est maintenu.

ANDRE PRATTE (CKAC) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, je voudrais revenir un peu à votre discours de Montréal, dimanche dernier.

Je me demande si vous n'avez pas un peu caricaturé l'histoire, si je peux dire, en montrant, dans le sens où les deux nationalismes dont vous parliez, les deux attitudes dont vous parliez, le nationalisme défensif et offensif, n'ont-ils pas tous les deux leur

utilité, contrairement à ce que vous sembliez dire dans votre discours. Et je prends l'exemple du Canada, le pays, sous votre gouvernement et sous d'autres précédents, où on a pris des mesures de nationalisme défensif en matière d'investissements étrangers, par exemple, ou d'énergie.

Alors, est-ce qu'il n'y a pas deux nationalismes qui sont valables et utiles tous les deux?

R. Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir fait cette distinction, mais ce que j'attaquais dans la situation économique québécoise, c'est une idéologie -- que vous l'appeliez nationalisme défensif ou offensif, peu me chaut -- mais c'est une idéologie qui, au fond, sert à justifier le transfert des richesses, des ressources, des classes pauvres vers la nouvelle bourgeoisie. C'était cela, ma thèse, et ça fait bien des années que je la développe. C'est la raison pour laquelle j'ai souvent critiqué les nationalismes, au Québec ou à l'étranger ou, si c'était le cas, au Canada aussi. Lorsque les élites québécoises ma thèse, encore une fois - les professeurs, les infirmières, les pompiers, enfin, tous ceux qui travaillent pour l'Etat disent qu'au nom de la dignité et de la fierté, il faut que le professeur québécois soit payé 50 ou 5 pour cent plus cher que le professeur de l'Ontario ou de la Colombie, je trouve qu'elles utilisent le nationalisme à ce moment-là et le sentiment de fierté pour se donner des salaires que le peuple québécois, c'est-à-dire le contribuable moyen, n'a

pas les moyens de se payer, puisque l'assiette fiscale dans le Québec est beaucoup plus pauvre que dans l'Ontario. Lorsqu'on se sert de ces arguments nationalistes de fierté pour payer, à une certaine classe, des salaires supérieurs aux salaires qui sont payés à la classe équivalente dans une province voisine, je trouve que c'est faire un mauvais usage de la fierté. Maintenant, est-ce que c'est un nationalisme défensif ou offensif ... Je le trouve offensant, en tout cas.

JOHN FERGUSON (Canadian Press): Prime Minister, there have been a number of reports about remarks that you have made to various groups in the last week about your plans for the future, that generally indicate that you had made up your mind to stick around for well into the next year. I wonder whether you would be prepared at this time to tell us what your thinking would be of the future between now and next fall.

A. I am not really thinking about it. I am governing now; I have no plans for retirement. I have said repeatedly it is unlikely, or most unlikely, that I would run in the next general election. But I have nothing, really, to add beyond that.

What more do you want me to say?

Q. I am interested in the use of the phrase "most unlikely", because I think most people understood it to be a very definite kind of statement.

A. Well, let's make it definite: I have no plans, and really no desire, to run in the next election. But I have always said that if an election were called overnight, if it had been called last September or last June by some freak loss of a vote in the House of Commons, I might have been thrown into an election. But under normal circumstances, with an election coming at the normal times, I am not planning to run.

Q. Your former Principal Secretary, Jim Coutts, is quoted in Toronto today as saying that he wants to lead the movement again to convince you to run again in the next election.

Are you suggesting that he won't be successful?

A. I am suggesting that he certainly hasn't

confided in me his plans, and that he is not doing that with my encouragement. Mr. Coutts is a very wily guy. I don't know why he is doing that. It is a little early to get me drafted to run again. He should let me resign and then do like he did last time.

JOHN ROGERS (Reuters): Prime Minister, back to Poland. As Chairman of the Ottawa Summit last summer, do you feel the Polish situation is one in which the Summit leaders could usefully coordinate their views now, and has there been any such coordination?

A. Yes, that is a very good question -- or suggestion. There has been such coordination within the framework of NATO, and a great amount of consultation. I haven't at this stage picked up the phone, as we said we might do, and spoken to Schmidt or Thatcher or Mitterand, or anything like that, Spadolini, on the situation.

Quite frankly, I think they, like us, are trying to assess the reality of the situation in Poland before doing anything which might be counter-productive -- and that goes back to the early comments I was making. A civil war in Poland would be about the worst thing that could happen. We have no evidence -- there may be evidence, but we have none -- of Soviet troops shaking their sabres on the border, or anything like that. I think that they, quite frankly, don't want a civil war in Poland. I don't know what would happen if there would be one. I would think that there would be great danger that the Soviet government would send troops in to maintain peace.

But I am convinced that that is not something

that they want, any more than we would want. As I said last spring, the Polish people have shown a remarkable -- well, I am repeating myself. I haven't had direct consultations with my fellow Summit leaders. It may come to that when we have a more precise view of the situation.

LUBOR ZINK (Toronto Sun): There may not be civil war yet in Poland, but according to Warsaw official broadcasts, blood is being spilled in Poland right now ---

A. Seven people -- what do the broadcasts say?

Q. About 400 wounded; about seven dead.

Since Soviet responsibility for the repression is obvious to any one but the naive, as President Reagan put it yesterday, can you still find justification, or even excuse, for maintaining your Friendship Protocol of 1971 with Moscow?

A. What do you accuse the Soviets of doing in Poland right now as a reason for us to break up the protocol?

Q. What is happening in Poland is the responsibility of the Soviet Union. There wouldn't be a Communist government in Poland if it hadn't been imposed on Poland by the Soviet Union. There wouldn't be the repression and the spilling of blood that is going on right now without the Soviet policy towards Poland since World War II.

I asked you after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan what justification there was for maintaining the Friendship Protocol with Moscow that you signed in 1971, when even the Communist government of China saw it necessary

to abrogate its friendship treaty with Moscow, and you said, "We are not as anti-Soviet as the Chinese".

Well, this has nothing to do with the Chinese. I am asking you what justification do you have now for still maintaining your Friendship Protocol in the situation as it exists now in Poland.

A. Well, if you are saying that there would be no Communist government in Warsaw ---

Q. That's right.

A. -- if there had been no Soviet communism, you are probably right; but you are saying, also, that there should have been no Tehran and no Cairo meetings, no agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt and Stalin that a certain zone of influence be recognized to the West and another to the East in Europe. And you could go back to that and say that Churchill and Stalin were wrong to permit Poland to be put in the Eastern camp -- and that is a view that I know you entertain. But that is trying to re-write history, and that is not within my potential.

The policy we have tried to follow is one of détente, and all the countries of Europe, and the United States, signed an agreement in Helsinki saying that it was better to try and keep peace in Europe than to try and resettle old scores and re-write the agreements that Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt had made after the war -- and De Gaulle, in some circumstances.

You can re-write history, but it is not a very profitable exercise.

Q. I am not re-writing history, Prime MInister. I am finding it peculiar that a democratic country keeps maintaining a Friendship Protocol with a totalitarian regime which is exercising repression, not only in Poland, but in Afghanistan and in a dozen other coutries.

A. Yes, I know that is your view, and you should get the United States and France and Britain and Germany, and the rest of the world, to break off relations with the Soviet Union. But you know a lot of us would like to prevent a third world war. Some people, I think, would like to re-establish the balance in Europe the way they see it, even if it means risking a third world war. Well, they are prepared to take that chance. That is not our view. I think the division that was made after the second world war in Europe may or may not have been a good thing, but it is certain it has been respected in the case of Budapest; it has been respected in the case of Poland now.

Q. Then, one supplementary ---

THE CHAIRMAN: No, this is not a debate. I think we have to move along. There are a few other names.

DAVID HALTON (CBC-TV News): Prime Minister, with the battle fatigue that appears to have set in on the Constitution, I am wondering if you feel there is much of a will, a political will, in the country left to forge on with Phase II, with reform of institutions, with division of powers, and so on, or whether that is likely to be shelved for a long, long time.

A. Well, we have no choice as to going on to

Phase II, in the sense that there is a constitutional commitment to meet at least on some subjects -- notably, the aboriginal question. And it is possible, when we get close to holding such a meeting, that other items could be put on the agenda.

You will recall that in some earlier stages there was practical agreement on some transfers of power. One of them has happened already in the case that we have transferred power over indirect taxes on resources and resource questions to the provinces. There had been agreement, as I recall it, or a near-agreement, on the transfer of family law.

Such things may come up and be settled easily -- I don't know. I must confess that I have no immediate plans to call such a conference, since once again they would center first and foremost around aboriginal rights, I think we have to make a bit more progress, notably with the Native leaders, before envisaging the agenda, and so on. But there is also a second phase which I think is in the hands of the federal government, and that is the reform of federal institutions. I do not think battle fatigue will prevent us from wanting to look again at ways in which the Senate can be seen by the provinces, or by the regions, to be more representative of them. Questions such as proportional representation could be discussed for the Senate, or the House of Commons. These are questions which haven't been set aside for reasons of fatigue, as you suggest, so much as the fact that we have been so busy settling the main problem of patriation. But now I think we will begin to turn our energies to the other aspects that I mentioned.

MICHEL GALAN (Agence France Presse) :Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, j'avais déjà posé une question similaire à monsieur Clark au moment de l'affaire Afghan.

Quelle différence y a-t-il entre les événements polonais d'aujourd'hui menés par l'armée polonaise avec la bénédiction, sinon l'aide directe, soviétique, et les événements du Chili en 1974 menés par l'armée chilienne avec la bénédiction, sinon l'aide directe, des Etats-Unis?

R. Quelle différence y a-t-il? Mon Dieu! je ne suis pas assez versé dans l'analyse et l'histoire pour vous dire s'il y a des différences ni s'il y a des ressemblances!

Les grandes puissances, c'est certain, essaient d'exercer une influence directe ou indirecte dans les pays qui sont dans leur sphère d'influence. Je pense qu'il y a une différence fort, fort lointaine. La situation en Europe, en quelque sorte, est née des accords de Téhéran et des autres accords vers la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Je pense que les affaires de Chili, si elles se sont passées comme vous le dites, remontent probablement à la doctrine Monroe d'il y a un siècle sur la non-ingérence dans les affaires du contient de l'hémisphère occidental. Mais ne suis pas très habile à ces jeux à moins que je me sois ferré à l'avance sur les événements de Chili qui ne sont pas, dans ma mémoire, aussi clairs que

vous le dites, ni ne le sont-ils dans le cas de la Pologne.

J'ai exprimé mes vues sur la Pologne et l'Union Soviétique, sur le Chili, il faudra que je me rafraîchisse la mémoire!

Q. Une brève supplémentaire, si vous le permettez.

Puisque la Pologne est dans des problèmes économiques très importants, est-ce que le Canada serait prêt à vendre à la Pologne, malgré les sept morts et les centaines de blessés, un réacteur nucléaire CANDU du même type que celui livré à l'Argentine, où des dizaines de milliers sont emprisonnés et plus de 1,200 ont totalement disparu, sans qu'on sache ce qu'ils sont devenus?

R. Sauf erreur, votre question est fort hypothétique.

La Pologne, à ce que je sache, ne nous a pas demandé d'acheter de réacteurs CANDU

Q. C'était au conditionnel. Le Canada serait-il prêt...?

R. A acheter des CANDU?

Qu'on nous fasse une demande, je regarderai ça. Je ne sache pas que les CANDU empêcheraient les morts d'avoir eu lieu, ni le sang de se verser.

Ca me paraît une question tellement hypothétique que je n'arrive pas à la saisir.

Dans le cas de l'Argentine, non plus. Sauf erreur, les CANDU c'est pour produire de l'électricité et après...

FRANCINE BASTIEN (Radio-Canada) Q. Monsieur le Premier ministre, le commissaire McDougall nous a dit cette semaine que la réputation du Canada à l'étranger, à cause de notre service à l'étranger, est relativement à plat.

Etant donné que c'est un rapport qui vous tenait particulièrement à coeur, c'est vous qui l'avez commandé, quelles espèces de réponses allez-vous apporter aux inquiétudes de madame McDougall?

R. Eh bien, je peux vous donner pour le moment la réponse classique que nous étudions ce rapport avec beaucoup de soins.

Je l'ai commandité parce que, par les connaissances que nous avions tous, il y avait des problèmes au ministère des Affaires étrangères. Dans les voyages que j'ai faits à l'étranger, j'ai été extrêmement bien servi par le personnel diplomatique, je crois que les provinces le sont aussi. Nous avons fréquemment des témoignages à cet effet, mais que les conditions de travail étaient à reviser, et c'est ce que madame McDougall a fait. Elle a étudié les conditions de travail, les conditions de salaires, la condition féminine, celle de la famille. Elle nous a fait des recommandations que je n'ai pas encore lues, mais que j'ai l'intention de prendre très au sérieux.

Q. Est-ce que je peux vous demander quel genre de priorité vous allez exercer? Est-ce que d'ici six mois ou d'ici un an ou d'ici jamais...?

R. Oui. Je pense que je peux dire que d'ici deux mois, vous n'aurez certainement pas un rapport détaillé sur le Rapport de Pat McDougall, mais vous aurez certaines indications, que je donnerai, sur la réforme de tout ce ministère, de sa façon de travailler.

DOUG FISHER (Toronto Sun): My question relates to your speech to the Liberals last week, this question of a new bourgeoisie that you identify, where you seemed to be indicating that the PQ and the PQ government in a sense has been the initiator of a situation where salaries, and so on, have gotten out of line in Quebec. I wanted to come at it from the point of view of my experience here watching the demands of MPs here for higher pay, service, and so on. There are two points about it that I wanted to ask you about, or you could comment on.

First of all, the first breakthrough in the Quebec Legislature towards higher pay and extended services came really under Liberal administrations there; and secondly, all the pressure that I have been able to divine here over the last twelve years for more pay and perks for MPs here, and services, really came largely from the Quebec Caucus, which is Liberal, and I am just wondering if you had thought of that when you made those charges and whether you had thought it might be possible that, by frugality here, you might have been a better model for the PQ and the Liberals in the National Assembly, who have sort of been in the forefront of higher pay and more services and more staff.

A. Well, maybe you are confirming my thesis that nationalism is an instrument which tends to reward those who are the formulators of it, and if that is what you are saying and that the malady has even impregnated some federal Liberals, then I take the message.

Q. Well, you take the message, but have you thought of giving any model in frugality. I mean, there are

all sorts of examples that you could put before this new bourgeoisie in Quebec -- by putting a ceiling; by cancelling the indexing; by putting a freeze on salaries and pay.

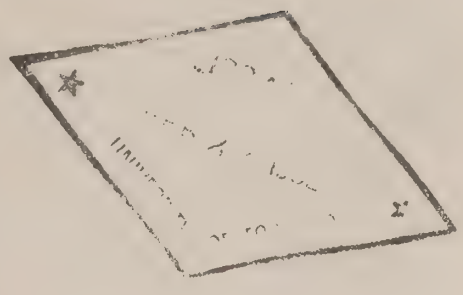
The reason I ask is that there is a new comparitive study out on the per capita costs of legislatures in relation to members, and the House of Commons is higher than the National Assembly in Quebec, and I thought this might be a striking example for you to choose to indicate your sense of frugality as against this squandering in Quebec.

A. Well, I think that is a very good sermon, Father, and as New Year's approaches, I will consider that very seriously.

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A CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER



HOST: BRUCE PHILLIPS

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INTRO: HELLO I'M BRUCE PHILLIPS. THIS HAS BEEN ANOTHER TREMENDOUS YEAR IN THE CANADIAN STORY. OUR GREAT CONSTITUTIONS DRAMA CAME TO SOME SORT OF RESOLUTION. WE HAVE A LOT OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. 1982 PROMISES TO BE EQUALLY EXCITING. WE'RE GOING TO LOOK AT ALL THESE EVENTS AGAIN, ONCE MORE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, THE RT. HON. P. E. TRUDEAU, TO DISCUSS THE YEAR JUST FINISHED AND WHAT HE THINKS IS COMING UP. PRIME MINISTER WE'VE BEEN DOING THIS NOW FOR THIRTEEN YEARS STRAIGHT, WE'RE BOTH A LITTLE OLDER I THINK THAN WHEN WE STARTED IT, HOW ARE YOU FEELING?

PT: I FEEL FINE. IT'S A BIT OF A FEELING LIKE WHEN YOU'RE IN FRONT OF THOSE STILL CAMERAS AND THEY SAY "JUST ONE MORE SHOT" AND EACH YEAR I FEEL THAT IT'S JUST ONE MORE SHOT, BUT THEN YOU'RE BACK AND I'M BACK.

BP: I WAS ABOUT TO SAY WE BOTH HELD ON TO OUR JOBS ANYHOW. THEY SENT YOU TO THE CORNER ONCE THOUGH. ON A MORE SERIOUS NOTE WE DO HAVE A NUMBER OF THINGS WE WOULD LIKE TO COVER STARTING WITH THE CONSTITUTION. MR. TRUDEAU'S OWN PLANS, WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN IN THE ECONOMY, WE'LL COVER ALL THESE SUBJECTS RIGHT AFTER THIS MESSAGE.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BP: THE PRIME MINISTER AND I ARE REVIEWING THE YEAR. PRIME MINISTER I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THIS IS YOUR VALEDICTORY APPEARANCE ON THIS KIND OF A PROGRAM OR NOT. YOU'VE HAD SO MANY GAMES RECENTLY WITH US ABOUT YOUR RETIREMENT PLANS, BUT I'M GOING TO TREAT IT AS THOUGH IT WERE AND ASK YOU TO REVIEW YOUR RECORD OF THIRTEEN OR FOURTEEN YEARS IN OFFICE AND TRY TO LOOK AHEAD TO WHAT YOU THINK THE COUNTRY'S SHAPE IS GOING TO BE LIKE DOWN THE ROAD, BUT FIRST OF ALL I THINK I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU WHETHER THERE IS ANY GREAT COMPELLING REASON THAT YOU CAN FEEL NOW FOR YOU TO WANT TO REMAIN AS PRIME MINISTER OF THE COUNTRY FOR ANY PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME? ANY GREAT THING LEFT UNDONE?

PT: WELL WHEN YOU TALK OF A PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME, I DON'T SUPPOSE THERE IS, BUT I'M NOT SURE IF THERE WAS IN THE YEARS BEFORE. I'M ALWAYS TRYING TO DO ONE TASK. IF I HAD THOUGHT BACK IN '67/'68 OF WHAT I WANTED TO DO, I WOULD HAVE BEEN SURE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DONE OVER TWO OR THREE YEARS, BUT THINGS LIKE THE CONSTITUTION, THINGS LIKE TRYING TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMY, THINGS LIKE TRYING TO BRING OUR POLITICAL POSITION IN WORLD AFFAIRS TO AN IMPROVEMENT. THESE THINGS NEVER ARE SOLVED. IT'S LIKE THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION. IT'S NEVER FINISHED, SO IF YOU'RE IN HERE YOU CAN STOP AT SOME POINT OR YOU CAN GO ON AND I DON'T THINK THAT THERE'S ANY OBJECTIVE REASON TO STOP OR GO ON. I THINK IT HAS TO BE SUBJECTIVE. AT SOME POINT, ONCE AGAIN, THE FATES SORT OF SAY "WELL TIME TO DO SOMETHING ELSE". I ALWAYS FEEL THAT I'LL STOP DOING WHAT I WANT WHEN IT HAS TO BE SERENE, IT HAS TO BE NOT GET OUT OF THIS IS DESPAIR OR IN DISGUST, IT HAS TO BE THAT JOB HAS JUST ABOUT FULFILLED ME AND I'LL MOVE ON.

BP: ARE YOU IN THAT SERENE MOOD AT THE MOMENT, OR GETTING THERE DO YOU THINK?

PT: I DO KNOW ONE THING, THAT IT WON'T BE SIGNALED LONG IN ADVANCE. I WOULD THINK IN A MATTER OF A FEW WEEKS AT SOME POINT I'LL SEE THE TIME SEEMS TO BE RIGHT IN TERMS OF MY SUCCESSORS, IN TERMS OF THE WAY THE LIBERAL, SMALL "L" LIBERAL POLICIES ARE DEVELOPING IN TERMS OF MY USEFULLNESS, IN TERMS ALSO OF WHAT THE OPPOSITION'S STRATEGIES AND PLANS ARE, IN TERMS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUING THE KIND OF POLICIES I'VE FELT RIGHT FOR CANADA, MAKING THE COUNTRY STRONGER AND SO ON. AT SOME POINT YOU FEEL THAT "WELL IT'S ABOUT DONE" AND YOU FEEL GOOD ABOUT IT AND IT'S TIME TO LEAVE. I DON'T THINK I'LL KNOW VERY MANY MONTHS IN ADVANCE. I'VE NEVER PLANNED IT THAT WAY.

BP: I GATHER FROM WHAT YOU'RE TELLING ME IS THAT YOU HAVE NOT FIXED ON SOME SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE WHICH YOU FEEL YOU MUST OBTAIN BEFORE YOU MAKE THE DECISION TO STEP ASIDE.

PT: NOT A SINGLE OBJECTIVE. I WOULD SAY THAT IN THE PAST YEAR ONE OF MY OBJECTIVES HAS BEGUN TO BE ATTAINED AND I DON'T MEAN MERELY THE CONSTITUTION BUT MORE GENERALLY IN TERMS OF PREVENTING A SWING OF THE PENDULUM TOWARDS A MUCH MORE DECENTRALIZED CANADA. YOU KNOW THAT SPEECH I MADE IN VANCOUVER A FEW WEEKS AGO AND THAT WASN'T REPORTED EXCEPT FOR THE END.

BP: THE END WAS THE BEST PART, THE MOST INTERESTING PART.

PT: THEREFORE I CAN REPEAT THE EARLIER PART OF THE SPEECH THAT NOBODY HEARD OR REMEMBERED. NO, WHAT I WAS TRYING TO EXPLAIN, AND WHAT I'M TRYING TO TELL YOU IS THAT THERE WAS, I THINK, A SLIPPAGE OF CANADA TOWARDS, IS IT A COMMUNITY OF COMMUNITIES OR IS IT TEN QUASI AUTONOMOUS STATES? THAT SLIPPAGE HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR, PERHAPS A COUPLE OF DECADES NOW AND I FEEL THAT THEY'VE HAD TO BE REVERSED AND I THINK AT LEAST THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM HAS BEEN STOPPED WITH THE ENERGY AGREEMENTS, WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENTS. THERE IS NOW, I HOPE, A LINE OF POLICY WHICH WILL KEEP CANADA STRONG AND WON'T KEEP IT SLIDING TOWARDS THIS HIGHLY DECENTRALIZED POSITION WHICH IT'S IN AND WHICH PEOPLE DON'T EVEN REALIZE THAT IT'S IN. YOU KNOW EVERY TIME WE HAVE FEDERAL/PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES THE PROVINCES SEEM TO SAY "WELL YOU KNOW THERE'S TOO MUCH POWER IN THE CENTRE", BUT BY JUST ABOUT EVERY STANDARD, WHETHER IT BE ECONOMIC, WHETHER IT BE FISCAL, WHETHER IT BE LEGISLATIVE, WHETHER IT BE ADMINISTRATIVE, POWER HAS BEEN SHIFTING TO THE PROVINCES AND I'M GLAD THAT THAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN STOPPED NOW.

BP: ONE OF THE PROBLEMS YOU GIVE ME ON THAT SIDE OF THE ISSUE PRIME MINISTER, IS THAT IN 1978, I THINK IT WAS, AT A FIRST MINISTERS' CONFERENCE YOU WERE PREPARED TO GIVE THE PREMIERS A WHOLE LOT MORE POWER, I THINK YOU USED THE EXPRESSION YOURSELF, "HERE, I'M PREPARED TO GIVE AWAY THE WHOLE STORE", ON BEHALF OF YOUR OWN OBJECTIVE WHICH WAS A CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT.

PT: WELL THAT IS RIGHT AND IN THAT SENSE I THINK THAT THE TURN OF THE PENDULUM OR THE SWING BACK OF THE PENDULUM HAPPENED PROBABLY SOMETIME BETWEEN '78 AND '81. I DON'T LIKE TO BE TOO PARTISAN, BUT IN THINK THAT WE HAD THAT SHORT PERIOD OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY THAT WAS PREACHING THE COMMUNITY OF COMMUNITIES AND I THINK IT BROUGHT FORTH RATHER CLEARLY WHEN EVEN MR. CLARK COULDN'T REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH ALBERTA, AFTER HE'D GIVEN UP LOTO CANADA, AFTER HE'D GIVEN AWAY THE OFFSHORE AND AFTER HE'D BEEN MAKING MANY OTHER PROMISES TO DECENTRALIZE TO THAT COMMUNITY OF COMMUNITIES, I THINK IT BECAME OBVIOUS TO MORE AND MORE PEOPLE THAT THAT WAS GOING TOO FAR AND THEN I BEGAN TO FEEL THAT I HAD SUPPORT FOR STOPPING THE PENDULUM AND FORTUNATELY I THINK IT HAS STOPPED NOW.

BP: ONE OF THE MP'S WAS RUNNING ARCUND THE OTHER DAY SAYING THAT YOU'D GIVEN HIM A COMMITMENT NEVER TO RETIRE UNTIL ONTARIO HAD ACCEPTED SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATIONS TO ITS POSITION ON BILINGUALISM. I TAKE IT YOU DIDN'T MAKE THAT KIND OF A COMMITMENT.

PT: WELL I FIND IT UNFORTUNATE THAT THERE'S BEEN RUMOURS OR TALKS ABOUT THAT, BECAUSE I DID SAY SOMETHING IN CAUCUS. I ALWAYS FEEL A BIT SAD WHEN I AM QUOTED DIRECTLY BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OUTSIDE OF CAUCUS. IN ESSENCE WHAT I SAID BRUCE WAS NOT TOO DIFFERENT FROM WHAT I'VE SAID OUTSIDE CAUCUS, BUT MAYBE A YEAR OR TWO BEFORE, CERTAINLY A YEAR BEFORE I BELIEVE WHEN I WAS TALKING DOWN IN TORONTO AT YORK UNIVERSITY, WHEN I SAID THAT RIGHT NOW I NEEDED SOME ALLIES TO GO TO LONDON WITH BUT THAT I DIDN'T THINK THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE WOULD STOP THERE, THERE WOULD BE FURTHER THINGS TO FIGHT FOR. THE NATIVE PEOPLE, FOR INSTANCE, ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT AND I'M SURE THERE WILL BE FURTHER DEBATES ON THE SHARING OF POWER BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND ONE THING I DID SAY IS THAT I PERSONALLY WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL ONTARIO HAD REJOINED MANITOBA AND NEW BRUNSWICK AND QUEBEC, AS A PROVINCE WHERE FRENCH AND ENGLISH WERE GIVEN EQUAL STATUS UNDER

SECTION 133 OF THE CONSTITUTION SO I'D SAID IT BEFORE AND I SAID IT STRONGLY AT THAT CAUCUS BUT ONCE AGAIN, I.....

BP: O.K. I UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE. I'D LIKE TO TALK FOR JUST A SECOND ABOUT QUEBEC. WE NOW HAVE A CONSTITUTION WHICH NINE PROVINCES HAVE GIVEN THEIR APPROVAL AND ONE ON WHOSE BEHALF ALL OF THIS ANGUISH HAS BEEN SUSTAINED REMAINING OUTSIDE. APART FROM THE IRONY OF THE FACT THAT HAVING GONE THROUGH THE EXERCISE THE ONE PROVINCE ON WHOSE BEHALF IT WAS UNDERTAKEN IS STILL NOT A PART OF THE PROCESS, HOW DO YOU SEE US EVER RESOLVING THE AMBIGUITY THAT NOW SITS IN QUEBEC WITH RESPECT TO THIS CONSTITUTION PRIME MINISTER? SOMEBODY THE OTHER DAY SUGGESTED A REFERENDUM AND YOU DIDN'T SEEM VERY KEEN ON THAT IDEA, BUT I PUT IT TO YOU AGAIN, WHAT ABOUT A FEDERAL REFERENDUM RELATING ONLY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS ACCEPTABILITY TO THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC. WOULD THAT NOT BE ONE REASONABLE WAY OF ENDING THIS?

PT: WELL, WHAT I ANSWERED TO THAT QUESTION THE OTHER DAY IS THAT I DIDN'T THINK A REFERENDUM WOULD END THIS, TO USE YOUR EXPRESSION. WE HAD A REFERENDUM IN MAY OF 1980 AND.....

BP: IT WAS ON A DIFFERENT QUESTION, I'M TALKING ONLY ABOUT THE CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT.

PT: BUT HEAR ME OUT. WE HAD A REFERENDUM AND CANADA WON OUT AGAINST SEPARATISM, HOWEVER DISGUISED, AND THAT DIDN'T SETTLE THE MATTER AND THE SEPARATIST PARTY CONTINUED TO SAY "WELL WE'LL HAVE ANOTHER REFERENDUM, NEXT TIME WE'LL WIN". THE KIND OF REFERENDUM YOU SUGGEST WOULD ONLY BE USEFUL IF BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT IT WOULD HAVE SOME FINALITY, SOME DEFINITE ENDING, BUT IF ONE SIDE PLAYS HEADS I WIN, TAILS YOU LOSE, AS THE SEPARATIST PARTY DID IN THE LAST REFERENDUM THEN WHAT WILL BE ADVANCED? NOTHING AT ALL. YOU'LL RECALL THAT ON THE SECOND LAST DAY OF THAT CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER, IT WAS THE FOURTH OF NOVEMBER, I OFFERED MR. LEVESQUE TO SETTLE THE WHOLE MATTER WITH A REFERENDUM AND HE ACCEPTED FOR A FEW HOURS, THEN HE BACK-PEDDLED TERRIBLY BECAUSE I THINK HIS PEOPLE TOLD HIM QUITE FRANKLY, FIRST OF ALL YOU CAN'T AGREE WITH ANYTHING, ON ANYTHING WITH THE FEDS , AND SECOND BECAUSE I THINK HE FELT THAT ON PATRIATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND ON ENTRENCHMENT OF A BILL OF RIGHTS HE PROBABLY WOULD HAVE LOST IT, BUT THERE'S NO POINT JUST US HAVING A REFERENDUM UNILATERALLY AND SAY WELL THAT CONVINCES US THAT PEOPLE OF QUEBEC DON'T WANT SEPARATION. I REPEAT THAT THAT DEMONSTRATION WAS MADE IN MAY, 1980 AND I DON'T SEE THE POINT OF.....

BP: NO, NO, AM I BEING MISUNDERSTOOD? I MEAN A REFERENDUM WHICH SIMPLY ASKS THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC WHETHER THEY ACCEPT THE CONSTITUTION THAT THE OTHER NINE PROVINCES HAVE ACCEPTED, NOT A REFERENDUM ON QUESTIONS ON SOVEREIGNTY ASSOCIATION OR ANYTHING ELSE, BUT CLEARLY WHETHER YOU ACCEPT THIS CONSTITUTION.

PT: I DON'T THINK THAT WOULD BE A FAIR REFERENDUM. I THINK YOU WOULD HAVE TO OFFER THEM A CHOICE BETWEEN TWO THINGS, BECAUSE IF WE DID WHAT YOU SAY WE WOULD BE BACK INTO THE BARGAINING PROCESS, AND THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC OR THE PEOPLE OF NEWFOUNDLAND, FOR THAT MATTER, OR THE PEOPLE OF ALBERTA COULD EASILY BE BROUGHT TO SAY IN REFERENDUM, "WELL WE DON'T ACCEPT THIS CONSTITUTION, WE'D LIKE TO HAVE A FEW MORE RIGHTS", THAT WOULD BE CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CASE OF QUEBEC OR JURISDICTION OVER THE OFFSHORE IN THE CASE OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND EVEN MORE MONEY IN THE HERITAGE FUND IN THE CASE OF ALBERTA, SO IT'S TO END THIS BARGAINING PROCESS THAT I PUT IT TO THE PROVINCES THAT WE WOULD GO ALONE TO LONDON IF WE HAD TO, BUT IF THEY WANTED WE COULD OFFER THE PEOPLE A CHOICE BETWEEN ONE AMENDING FORMULA AND ANOTHER, BETWEEN A BILL OF RIGHTS AND NO BILL OF RIGHTS. I THINK IF YOU OFFER PEOPLE OF CANADA A CHOICE LIKE THAT AND I WOULD HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO BE BOUND BY IT AND YOU'LL RECALL THAT WAS IN THE AMENDING FORMULA FROM THE BEGINNING, THAT WE WOULD PUT TWO AMENDING FORMULAS TO THE PEOPLE AND THEY WOULD CHOOSE, BUT I CERTAINLY

WOULDN'T WANT TO HAVE A REFERENDUM IN ANY PROVINCE WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE PROVINCIAL POLITICIANS TO SAY "WELL VOTE NO AND WE'LL GET SOMETHING BETTER". YOU HAVE TO HAVE A WHOLE PACKAGE.

BP: O.K. LAST YEAR WHEN WE HAD THIS INTERVIEW YOU CONCLUDED IN THE VERY LAST THIRTY SECONDS OF THE PROGRAM WITH A PROPOSITION THAT WE DIDN'T HAVE TIME TO FINISH AND I'VE BEEN WAITING FOR A WHOLE YEAR TO ASK YOU THE QUESTION. YOU SAID CANADIANS HAVE TO MAKE THE CHOICE AT WHICH POINT WE RAN OUT OF TIME, YOU RAN OFF TO YOUR CHILDREN, NOW WHAT IS THE CHOICE THAT THEY HAVE TO MAKE?

PT: WELL I WAS REFERING TO THAT A LITTLE EARLIER IN THE PROGRAM WHEN I SAID THAT THEY HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER THE COUNTRY IS TOO BIG FOR US OR NOT. YOU KNOW WHEN I GO TO QUEBEC OR TO BRITISH COLUMBIA OR TO NOVA SCOTIA AND I HEAR JOURNALISTS OR POLITICIANS SAY "WELL OTTAWA'S SO FAR OFF AND YOU KNOW WE'RE ALIENATED", WHETHER IT BE WESTERN ALIENATION OR EASTERN ALIENATION, OTTAWA'S TOO FAR AWAY, BUT IN KIND OF A CHIDING WAY I SAY "WELL MAYBE THE COUNTRY IS TOO BIG FOR YOU", AND I KNOW IT'S NOT TOO BIG FOR THE PEOPLE, I THINK CANADIANS ARE COMFORTABLE IN THIS BIG AND BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY, BUT I THINK POLITICIANS, COMMENTATORS, ARE USING THAT EXPRESSION IN ORDER TO GET MORE POWER TO THE PROVINCES, GET MORE POWER TO THE REGIONS AND I SAY IF WE GO THAT ROUTE IT MEANS THAT SOMEHOW OUR INSTITUTIONS CAN'T SATISFY THE PEOPLE OF CANADA THAT THEY CAN BE GOVERNED BY ONE GOVERNMENT, IN OTHER WORDS THAT THERE CAN BE ONE NATIONAL WILL, EXPRESSING ONE NATIONAL GOOD, WHICH, IN THE CRUNCH, MUST TRANSCEND THE REGIONAL OR LOCAL DEFINITIONS OF WHAT IS GOOD, AND THAT IS THE CHOICE THE PEOPLE HAVE TO MAKE. YOU KNOW IT CAN'T GO ON SAYING WE'RE ALIENATED BECAUSE OTTAWA WILL NEVER UNDERSTAND US. WE HAVE TO SAY IF OTTAWA DOESN'T UNDERSTAND US WE'LL HAVE TO PUT OTHER POLITICIANS WHO DO UNDERSTAND US, OR WE'LL HAVE TO CHANGE, WHETHER IT'S THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OR THE SENATE OR THE SUPREME COURT SO THEY'LL UNDERSTAND US BETTER, BUT WE CAN'T SAY SOMEHOW THE SOLUTION TO THE DIFFICULTY IS TO PULL ALL THE POWER INTO THE REGIONS OR INTO THE PROVINCES, AND THAT IS THE CHOICE THAT I HAVE BEEN PUTTING TO THE PEOPLE.

BP: I WONDER PRIME MINISTER WHETHER IT'S NOT THAT PEOPLE DISAGREE WITH YOU SO MUCH AS THAT PEOPLE DISAGREE WITH THE METHODS, I MEAN I CAN THINK OF A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN CANADIAN HISTORY WHEN THERE HAS BEEN A VERY CLEAR NATIONAL WILL IN RESPONSE TO A PERCEIVED CRISIS, THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEING ONE OF THEM. THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE COULD SEE THAT THIS WAS A THREAT TO THE EXISTENCE OF CANADA AND HAD NO DIFFICULTY COMING TO SUCH A CONCLUSION AND MAYBE IT'S IN THE DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM THAT IN NORMAL TIMES PEOPLE FEEL CLOSER TO THEIR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND ARE JEALOUS TO GUARD, IN FACE I THINK YOU YOURSELF ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION HAS SAID THAT THERE ARE MANY VIRTUES IN A FEDERAL STATE IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE NOT SO REMOTE FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

PT: WELL I AGREE TO ALL THAT AND I SUPPOSE IF THERE WERE A NATIONAL CRISIS IT WOULD BE RELATIVELY EASIER TO GET PEOPLE TO FEEL CANADIAN THAN WHEN IT'S JUST TEDIOUS, RUN-OF-THE-MILL CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS AND ARGUMENTS ABOUT FISCAL ADMINISTRATION, AND ARGUMENTS ABOUT EQUALIZATION OR ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, THAT IS TRUE, BUT I THINK THAT THE DANGER OF SLIPPAGE TOWARDS A LOOSE FEDERATION OF TEN QUASI AUTONOMOUS STATES IS PERHAPS THE MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT IS THE MORE GRADUAL, THE MORE PERNICIOUS BECAUSE IT'S LESS OF A CRISIS AND MORE OF A SLIDE AND THAT'S WHY I'M HAPPY THAT WITHOUT A REAL CRISIS WE'VE BEEN ABLE TO STOP THE SLIDE.

BP: WELL I'LL OVERLOOK THE POINT THAT YOU WERE PREPARED TO GIVE AWAY STILL MORE POWERS A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO PRIME MINISTER, BUT IT DOES SEEM TO ME THAT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY DOES ENJOY VERY WIDE AUTHORITY OF TOTAL CONTROL OVER TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS AND BANKING AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERPROVINCIAL TRADE AND INTERPROVINCIAL COMMERCE, ARE THOSE POWERS

NOT SUFFICIENTLY WIDE IN THEIR PRESENT CONTEXT TO DO A REASONABLY DECENT JOB OF KEEPING THE COUNTRY TOGETHER?

PT: YES THEY ARE SUFFICIENT TO ME, NOR AM I ASKING FOR MANY MORE POWERS FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT HAS IT ESCAPED YOUR NOTICE THAT THE PROVINCES HAVE BEEN ASKING FOR MORE POWERS, MORE MONEY, WHETHER IT BE, SHALL I RECITE THE LIST AGAIN, MORE POWERS OVER CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY, MORE POWERS OVER FISHERIES, MORE POWERS OVER THE OFFSHORE, MORE POWERS OVER INTERNATIONAL TRADE, MORE POWERS OVER INTERNATIONAL POLICY, FOREIGN POLICY, HAS THAT ESCAPED YOUR NOTICE? AND HAS IT ESCAPED YOUR NOTICE THAT IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS THE PUBLIC FINANCES HAS COMPLETELY CHANGED? TWENTY YEARS AGO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS SPENDING ABOUT 50% OF ALL NATIONAL EXPENDITURES, FEDERAL, PROVINCIAL, MUNICIPAL, NOW IT'S SPENDING 33%, REVERSE PROPORTION OF COURSE HAS HAPPENED FOR THE PROVINCES, THEY USED TO BE SPENDING SOMETHING LIKE ONE-THIRD, NOW THEIR SPENDING MORE THAN ONE-HALF.

BP: BUT SO TOO HAS THE COUNTRY CHANGED PRIME MINISTER WITH THE GROWTH OF THESE HUGE CITIES AND URBAN PROBLEMS AND URBAN TRANSIT AND THE GROWTH OF HUGE SCHOOL SYSTEMS, ALL OF THAT'S REQUIRED, AT PROPORTIONATELY LARGER DEGREE OF EXPENDITURE AT THAT LOCAL LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT.

PT: EXACTLY, YES.

BP: THIS IS NOT SOME SINISTER PLOT IT'S A NATURAL OCCURENCE.

PT: OH YES IT'S A NATURAL OCCURENCE AND I GUESS THE DUTY OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN NATIONAL POLITICS, IN POLITICS FOR THE WHOLE NATION IS TO SENSE AT WHICH POINT THE SLIDE SHOULD STOP AND ONE DOESN'T HAVE TO AGREE WITH ME BUT WHEN I SAY THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD CHOOSE, I'M CONVINCED THAT THERE IS A REAL CHOICE BETWEEN TWO VISIONS OF CANADA, ONE IS THAT IT'S A LOOSE FEDERATION OF QUASI AUTONOMOUS STATES AND YOU KNOW, YOU'VE BEEN ENOUGH OF AN OBSERVER OF THE POLITICAL SCENE TO HAVE SEEN IT HAPPEN AT EVERY FEDERAL/PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, WHETHER WE TRANSFER TAX POINTS AND CASH TO THE TUNE OF TWO BILLION OR TWO HUNDRED MILLION, IT'S NEVER ENOUGH AND IT'S ALWAYS TOO LATE AND NOW THAT THE EQUALIZATION SYSTEM WORKS IN A WAY THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO TAX IN ORDER TO GIVE EQUALIZATION MONEY TO ONTARIO, WHICH ISN'T A POOR PROVINCE YET, AND WE SAY WE'VE GOT TO REFORM THE CALCULATION OF THE FIGURES IN SUCH A WAY THAT WERE EQUALIZING TO THE UNDERDOG NOT TO THOSE WHO ARE REASONABLY ABOVE AVERAGE AND THE PROVINCES ARE SAYING NO, NO, NO, DON'T TOUCH THE EQUALIZATION SYSTEM, IT'S WORKING JUST FINE, BUT I THINK YOU'VE OBSERVED ALL THIS, YOU WANT TO GIVE ME AN ARGUMENT WHICH IS FINE, BUT IT'S THERE FOR ANYONE TO SEE WHO'S FOLLOWED THE DEBATE ON THE KIND OF COUNTRY WE HAVE, I MEAN HAVE WE NOT BEEN GOING TOWARDS EXECUTIVE FEDERALISM, HAVE WE NOT HEARD ABOUT A YEAR AGO THE TEN PROVINCES SAY THAT WHEN THEY AGREE ON ANYTHING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TO GIVE IT, DO YOU REMEMBER THAT FAMOUS STATEMENT BY PREMIER BENNETT IN SEPTEMBER OF 1980?

BP: WELL LOTS OF THINGS GET SAID THAT DON'T GET DONE.

PT: WELL THANK GOD IT DIDN'T GET DONE.

BP: I THINK YOU'LL CONCEDE YOU'VE MADE A STATEMENT FOR BARGAINING PURPOSES ONCE OR TWICE IN YOUR LIFE TOO. I MEAN IF WE LOOK AT THE WHOLE HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS THE VARIOUS THINGS THAT YOU WERE PREPARED TO SETTLE FOR HAVE CHANGED FROM TIME TO TIME, DEPENDING ON YOUR ESTIMATE OF YOUR CHANCES AT GETTING THEM I SUPPOSE.

PT: I GUESS I DON'T HAVE THE HEART TO TRY AND CONVINCE YOU IF YOU WERE CONVINCED THAT WE WERE HAPPY MOVING TOWARDS A COMMUNITY OF COMMUNITIES, WELL THEN YOU KNOW, JUST, YOU SHOULDN'T VOTE FOR ME BECAUSE THAT ISN'T MY VIEW OF CANADA.

BP: LET'S TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT, I SAY SUBJECT, WAR AND PEACE. THIS IS NOT A VERY HAPPY CHRISTMAS IN SOME PARTS OF THE WORLD PRIME MINISTER, OBVIOUSLY. YOU'VE BEEN CRITICIZED IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE DAYS BY SOME DEMONSTRATORS ON PARLIAMENT HILL ABOUT YOUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TO POLAND AND IN FAIRNESS TO YOU, I DON'T THINK YOU MEANT WHAT THEY SAID YOU SAID, NAMELY THAT YOU FEEL MARSHAL LAW IS BETTER THAN A CIVIL WAR. I TAKE IT YOU MEAN SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT THAN THAT.

PT: WHAT DO YOU THINK I MEAN?

BP: WELL, SURELY YOU WOULD NOT BE ARGUING THAT A NATIONAL PRISON IS BETTER THAN PEOPLE RESISTING A CONDITION THAT CAN AMOUNT TO SLAVERY.

PT: WELL I DIDN'T HEAR THE PEOPLE ON PARLIAMENT HILL, I DON'T KNOW WHAT THEIR CRITICISM WAS.

BP: WELL IT WAS THE POLISH CONGRESS. THEY FELT THAT YOU HAD BEEN RATHER LIMP IN YOUR OBJECTIONS TO WHAT WAS TRANSPIRING IN POLAND AND THAT MARSHAL LAW WAS A BETTER ALTERNATIVE THAN CIVIL WAR.

PT: WELL WHAT ARE THEY ARGUING, THAT IT WAS BETTER TO HAVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN POLAND CONTINUE IN OFFICE, CRUSHING PRESUMABLY THE SOLIDARITY STRIKES WITH WHAT? WITH THE POLICE? I FAIL TO SEE THE ALTERNATIVES THEY WANT. OBVIOUSLY NOBODY LIKES MILITARY REGIME, A DEMOCRACY IS BETTER, BUT THERE DOESN'T SEEM TO BE MUCH DOUBT THAT THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT WHICH I THINK BROUGHT IN A BREATH OF FRESH AIR INTO POLAND. IT WAS COMMENTED ON TO SAY IT WASN'T NECESSARILY THE CAUSE OF, BUT THE POLISH STATE WAS GOING BANKRUPT AND IT'S BANKRUPT NOW AND THE QUESTION IS HOW WAS IT GOING TO CONTINUE TO GOVERN? WE SEE UNIONS IN CANADA WHO ARE ALWAYS ASKING FOR MORE. I DON'T SUPPOSE THE UNION MOVEMENT IN POLAND IS VERY DIFFERENT, THEY WOULD WANT MORE, BUT AT SOME STATE IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULDN'T GIVE ANY MORE AND THAT THE MORE WAS COMING FROM ABROAD, INCLUDING HALF A BILLION DOLLARS OF CREDIT FOR GRAIN FROM CANADA AND SO ON. AT SOME POINT SOMETHING HAD TO GIVE. DO YOU OR THE POLISH CONGRESS THINK THAT SOLIDARITY WOULD HAVE BEEN PERMITTED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

BP: NO, NO

PT: WELL LET'S THINK IT THROUGH. WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES? THE ALTERNATIVES WOULD HAVE BEEN, I SUPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND, THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE AGAINST THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT AND THE PEOPLE WHO WANTED FOOD AND LIBERTY, AND HOW WOULD THAT HAVE BEEN SOLVED BY EXCHANGING DAISIES OR WHAT? I SUPPOSE THE STATE WOULD HAVE SAID "LET'S SEND IN THE POLICE" AND I SUPPOSE THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN SHOOTING, DON'T YOU?

BP: WELL I'VE ALWAYS ASSUMED PRIME MINISTER, THAT THE ALTERNATIVES IN POLAND AT THAT STAGE WERE EITHER MARSHAL LAW BY THE POLISH OR MILITARY GOVERNMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION.

PT: AND WHAT DOES THE CANADIAN POLISH CONGRESS PREFER OF THOSE TWO?

BP: WELL THEY DON'T SEEM TO HAVE DEALT WITH THAT QUESTION.

PT: WELL IT'S UNFORTUNATE.

BP: WELL I RAISED THIS IN AN EFFORT TO CLEAR THE RECORD. IT DOES RAISE THE INTERESTING .....

PT: YOU KNOW, I THINK THAT, WELL OBVIOUSLY YOU STATED A QUESTION, WELL IF IT'S ONE OF THE OTHER BETTER TO HAVE I SUPPOSE, THE POLISH GENERALS AND SOLDIERS MAINTAINING ORDER RATHER THAN HAVING THE SOVIETS DO IT, BUT ONE COULD ARGUE WELL WHAT IS SO GOOD ABOUT HAVING THE ARMY MAINTAIN ORDER? NOTHING SO GOOD EXCEPT IN THIS CASE HOPEFULLY, I DON'T KNOW, BUT HOPEFULLY THE MILITARY REGIME WILL BE ABLE TO, NOT ONLY KEEP SOLIDARITY FROM EXCESSIVE DEMANDS BUT KEEP THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT FROM EXCESSIVE REPRESSION AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IF THAT WERE THE WAY IT WORKS OUT,

IT IS BETTER THAN HAVING THE SHOOTING WHICH SEEMED INEVITABLE TO ME AND THE STARVATION THAT WOULD GO WITH IT. YOU KNOW IN A SENSE, IN A SENSE I SUPPOSE IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE RUSSIAN HATERS IF THE SOVIETS HAD GONE IN. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WORSE FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE BUT IN A SENSE THEN THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE HAD TO ASSUME THE TASK OF GOVERNING POLAND IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES AND OF FEEDING IT AND BRINGING IT OUT OF BANKRUPTCY AND IT WOULD BE A PRETTY HEAVY WEIGHT ON THE SOVIET UNION, SO IF YOU REALLY WANT TO ADD ANOTHER BURDEN TO THE SOVIET UNION, DO THAT, BUT IT'S AT THE EXPENSE OF HAVING THE WEIGHT CARRIED BY THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THAT DOESN'T SEEM TO BE AN ADVANTAGE TO ME, BUT YOU KNOW, NATURALLY THE CANADIAN OF POLISH ORIGIN ARE EMOTIONAL ABOUT IT. WHEN YOU KNOW THAT YOUR COUSINS AND RELATIVES AND YOUR COUNTRYMEN ARE BEING LOCKED UP OR THAT THEIR LIBERTIES ARE BEING INFRINGED, IT'S A TERRIBLE FEELING, BUT THE QUESTION IS WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT? I THINK THAT WE CAN'T DO MUCH, CONTINUING EXTENDING CREDIT AND SENDING FOOD TO POLAND, BUT WE CAN BEHAVE IN A WAY THAT DOESN'T GIVE THE SOVIET UNION THE PRETEXT OF GOING IN THERE AND, ONCE AGAIN, I'D HAVE TO SIT DOWN WITH THE POLISH CONGRESS AND SEE WHAT ALTERNATIVES, WHAT DID THEY THINK,THAT THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE SOME KIND OF A COMMUNE AND TAKE OVER POLAND AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD FADE AWAY AND THE POLICE WOULD KEEP THEIR GUNS IN THE HOLSTERS?

BP: WELL OF COURSE YOU'RE BEING REALISTIC PRIME MINISTER. HAVE YOU EVER, IN THE VIEW OF ALL THAT'S HAPPENED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, AND I THINK THE CLEAR PROOF THAT POLISH FREEDOMS ARE LIMITED BY THE APPARENT WILLINGNESS BY THE SOVIET UNION TO INTERVENE IN THE CRUNCH IF NECESSARY TO PRESERVE A ONE PARTY GOVERNMENT THERE, HAVE YOU EVER HAD ANY CAUSE TO REFLECT OR REGRET YOUR FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION, ON THE GROUNDS NOT THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY PARTICULARLY PRACTICAL EFFECT OF NOT HAVING DONE IT, BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE YOU OUGHT NOT TO, BY SIGNING SUCH AGREEMENTS, SEEM TO CONFER APPROVAL OF THE KIND OF REGIME WITH WHOM YOUR DOING THE BUSINESS?

PT: WELL THE.....

BP: AND I GRANT YOU THAT IT'S MORE SYMBOLIC THAN ANYTHING ELSE.

PT: THE AGREEMENT TOOK PLACE IN '71. BY THEN THERE HAD BEEN REPRESSION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BP: YES

PT: THERE HAD BEEN REPRESSION IN HUNGARY. THERE HAD BEEN KIND OF A STALEMATE IN YUGOSLAVIA AND THERE HAD BEEN ALL KINDS OF THINGS HAPPENING, BUT BY '71 ALSO WE WERE HOPING THAT WE WERE COMING OUT OF THE COLD WAR, WE WERE BEGINNING TO DO SO, WE WERE A COUPLE OF YEARS AWAY FROM THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT ON DETANTE (?) WHICH WAS SIGNED BY ALL THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, INCLUDING THE VATICAN AND BY THE UNITED STATES, SO, PRESIDENT NIXON WAS TRAVELLING TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THEY WERE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS AND SO ON, SO THE TREATY WITH CANADA, I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS CALLED A FRIENDSHIP TREATY, IT WAS A TREATY ON CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS SEEMS TO ME WAS VERY MUCH IN TUNE WITH THE TIMES AND TO THIS DAY I MAKE NO APOLOGY FOR HAVING BELIEVED THAT PEACE IS BETTER THAN WAR AND THAT DETANTE (?) IS BETTER THAN THE COLD WAR, PROVIDING THAT WE REMAIN VIGILANTE WHICH WE HAVE IN NATO AND PROVIDING WE KEEP PRESSING FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF WHAT WAS IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THAT IS FREE FLOW OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS WHICH WE HAVE AT MADRID AND AT BEFORE THAN AND SO ON, SO I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHAT POINT YOU ARE MAKING.. IF IT IS THAT WE WOULD LIKE COMMUNISM TO BE THROWN OUT OF POLAND, YES, DOES THAT MEAN WE SHOULD START A WAR FOR THAT?

BP: WELL THE POINT I'M TRYING TO MAKE IS THAT IF YOU START FROM THE POSITION THAT THERE MUST BE SOME MORAL CONTENT TO YOUR POLICY, THEN PRESUMABLY THERE WOULD BE SOME DISCRIMINATION APPLIED TO THE KINDS OF PEOPLE WITH WHOSE COMPANY YOU WANTED TO BE

SEEN AND WOULD YOU THEREFORE GO AROUND SIGNING FRIENDSHIP PROTOCOLS OR EVEN MAINTAINING THEM WITH COUNTRIES WHOSE INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR HAD PROVED AS BAD AS THE SOVIET UNION'S HAS BEEN IN THE LAST FEW YEARS? IF THE ONLY GESTURE YOU CAN MAKE IS ONE OF LARGELY SYMBOLIC CHARACTER IS IT STILL NOT WORTH MAKING? I GUEST THAT'S WHAT I'M SAYING.

PT: WELL TELL ME BRUCE, WHAT DO YOU DISAPPROVE OF IN THE SOVIET UNION'S ACTIONS AS REGARD TO POLAND?

BP: WELL I WOULDN'T CONFINE MY OBSERVATIONS JUST TO POLAND.

PT: WE'RE TALKING ABOUT POLAND.

BP: GO BACK TO THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

PT: NO, NO, POLAND. I MEAN YOU'RE ASKING ME NOW WHY I DON'T BREAK THE FRIENDSHIP TREATY.

BP: WELL WE ARE INFORMED THAT THE SOVIET UNION TOLD THE POLISH MILITARY A FEW WEEKS AGO THAT IF THEY DIDN'T IMPOSE MARSHAL LAW THE SOVIETS WOULD DO IT FOR THEM. THAT'S NOT A CONFIRMED STORY, BUT IT'S A REASONABLE ASSUMPTION.

PT: WELL THAT WAS A NASTY THING TO SAY BUT IN EFFECT, WHO IMPOSED MILITARY LAW AND LET'S GET BACK TO OUR EARLIER ARGUMENT, WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE PREFERRED, THAT THE POLISH MILITARY WOULD HAVE SAID "AFTER YOU MY DEAR ALPHONSE" AND THEN WHO WOULD YOU BE BLAMING, THE POLISH OR THE SOVIETS?

BP: WELL SURELY YOU BLAME THE SOVIET UNION PRIME MINISTER. WOULD THE POLISH BE DOING THIS IF THEY WEREN'T LIVING UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE RUSSIAN BEAR?

PT: THAT IS SOMETHING ELSE. IF YOU'RE TELLING ME THAT POLAND IS IN THE SOVIET'S FEAR OF INFLUENCE, JUST LIKE THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT CENTRAL AMERICA IS IN THE AMERICAN'S FEAR OF INFLUENCE OR CANADA FOR THAT MATTER, THEN THAT'S SOMETHING ELSE, BUT WASN'T THIS DECIDED AT AND AT TEHRAN BY CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT AND SOME MEETINGS AND MACKENZIE KING HAD A MEETING IN QUEBEC CITY, YOU KNOW IT WAS CHURCHILL AND IT WAS ROOSEVELT AND STALIN WHO DREW UP SPHERES OF INFLUENCES. NOW YOU MAY NOT LIKE THAT AND YOU MAY WANT TO BE IN THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO SAY WE SHOULD FREE EASTERN EUROPE, BUT TELL ME HOW YOU WANT TO DO IT? TALK THE RUSSIANS INTO GETTING OUT OR MOVE IN YOUR DIVISIONS?

BP: WELL MY RECOLLECTION OF THE POSITION IN EUROPE IN THE 1945'S THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD PROMISED FREE ELECTIONS IN POLAND WHICH DIDN'T TAKE PLACE, BUT....

PT: BUT WHAT? SO THEREFORE THEY DIDN'T TAKE PLACE, SO THEREFORE WE SHOULD GO AND SHOW THEM AND MOVE THEM OUT OF THERE OR WHAT?

BP: I DON'T THINK I'M BACK TO MY ORIGINAL QUESTION PRIME MINISTER, WHICH IS WHETHER YOU WISH TO MAINTAIN FRIENDSHIP PROTOCOLS WITH GOVERNMENTS WHICH INTERFERE BY WAY OF INVASION OR INTIMIDATION OF THEIR NEIGHBOURS?

PT: WELL I GUESS YOU'RE ASKING A BROADER QUESTION. DO YOU WANT A COLD WAR BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST AND IS THAT BETTER THAN TRYING TO ACOMMODATE OR TO BE MORE POINTED, DO YOU WANT THE UNITED STATES TO BE TALKING TO THE SOVIET UNION ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS OR WOULD YOU PREFER THE NUMBER OF ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN BOMBS TO CONTINUE MULTIPYING IN THE NAME OF THE FACT THAT YOU DON'T TALK TO PEOPLE WHO'S CONDUCT YOU DON'T APPROVE? I MEAN THERE IS A CHOICE AND I KNOW SOME PEOPLE HAVE MADE THE CHOICE THAT A COLD WAR IS BETTER AND LET'S HAVE A AND CUT THEM OFF AND JUST LIVE AMONGST OURSELVES AND THE WHOLE THING WILL END BUT I DON'T SHARE THAT VIEW. I THINK THAT IF ONE CAN WORK FOR PEACE AND IF PEACE MEANS TALKING TO THE OTHER FELLOW, AND OF COURSE IF THE OTHER FELLOW HAS THE BIG ARMIES AND THE BIG GUNS IT'S IMPORTANT THAT YOU HAVE THEM TOO, AND THAT'S WHY WE'RE A MEMBER OF NATO AND WE'RE NOT NEUTRAL AND WE'RE NOT NON-ALIGNED. WE ARE THE MEMBER OF AN ALLIANCE AND I THINK AN HONOURABLE MEMBER OF AN ALLIANCE, BUT I STILL THINK THAT WE ARE ABLE TO KEEP UP TO THE OTHER SIDE WE HAVE TO TRY AND FIND WAYS OF PEACE,

AND THAT MEANS TALK, AND THAT MEANS DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS AND SO ON.

BP: PRIME MINISTER, WE'RE GOING TO COME RIGHT BACK.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BP: PRIME MINISTER, LET'S COME BACK TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. YOU'VE BEEN AT THE HELM FOR THE BETTER PART OF FOURTEEN YEARS WITH ONE SMALL INTERRUPTION, THE PROBLEMS THOUGH THAT SEEM TO INFLICT THE ECONOMY DON'T SEEM A WHOLE LOT DIFFERENT SOMEHOW THAN THEY WERE THROUGH MOST OF THE PIECE, WE HAVE VERY HIGH INTEREST RATES, CONTINUING INFLATION AND HEAVY UNEMPLOYMENT. DOES THAT TELL US ANYTHING APART FROM THE FACT THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE SO INTRACTABLE AND OUR INSTITUTIONS ARE INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THEM, THAT WE MUST, WHAT IS IT TELLING US?

PT: WELL IT'S TELLING US THAT IT MEANS MISERY FOR A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO ARE OUT OF JOBS OR WHO ARE AFRAID OF LOSING THEIR JOBS AND IT TELLS US ALSO THAT THOSE WHO HAVE ASSETS, WHETHER THEY BE FAMILY HOUSES OR FARMS OR SMALL BUSINESSES ARE WORRIED AND I CAN'T SAY THAT THEY DON'T HAVE CAUSE TO WORRY. WHEN YOU SEE, FOR INSTANCE, THE .....

BP: WELL IS THE SYSTEM FAILING THEM AND FAILING US IN SOME WAY? YOU SAID IN 1975 ON THIS PROGRAM IN A STATEMENT FOR WHICH YOU HEAVILY CRITICIZED, BUT STRUCK ME AT THE TIME AS QUITE SENSIBLE, THAT CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED IN THE 20TH CENTURY ECONOMIES AND WE WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE TO RESPOND TO THEM, OTHERWISE WE WOULD BE LOCKED INTO THESE THINGS BUT OUR SYSTEM HASN'T CHANGED I DON'T THINK. HAVE WE COME UP WITH THE KINDS OF RESPONSES THAT ARE NECESSARY?

PT: WELL WE HAVE COME UP WITH SOME RESPONSES. THEY WERE ACHIEVED AS ONE SAYS, THE CANADIAN WAY, BY NEGOTIATION AND SOMETIMES BY THE USE OF LAWS. I MEAN IN '75 WE BROUGHT IN CONTROLS AND TRIED TO DAMPEN INFLATION THAT WAY AND IT WAS SUCCESSFUL FOR A TIME. WE HAD THE OPEC CRISIS AND WE USED CANADIAN LAW AND EVEN SOMETHING CALLED THE REVOLVER CLAUSE TO KEEP PRICES LOWER THAN WORLD PRICES WHICH THEY STILL ARE, IN ORDER TO PHASE IN THE IMPACT OF THAT WORLD EVENT, SO WE ARE REACTING TO EVENTS BUT WE CAN'T CUT OURSELVES COMPLETELY FROM THEM HAPPENING. DOES THAT MEAN WE HAVE TO CHANGE BASICALLY THE STRUCTURE OF OUR ECONOMY? I DON'T THINK SO. I THINK IT MEANS WE HAVE TO ADAPT, BUT IN CANADA WE'VE MADE A WHOLE SERIES OF CHOICES TO SHELTER PEOPLE FROM ECONOMIC HARDSHIP, YOU KNOW BEGINNING WITH THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT BACK IN 1940 GOING THROUGH MEDICARE, BUT EVEN MORE RECENT YEARS, DURING THE '70'S WE'VE INDEXED, FOR INSTANCE, PENSION, WE'VE BROUGHT IN THE GUARANTEED INCOME SUPPLEMENT FOR THE SENIOR CITIZENS, WE'VE INDEXED FAMILY ALLOWANCES, WE'VE BROUGHT IN MARKETING BOARDS SO THAT THE FARMERS WOULD BE PROTECTED AGAINST TOO GREAT SWINGS OF THE PRICES OF THEIR PRODUCT. WE'VE BROUGHT IN THE STABILIZATION ACT FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. WE HAVE LABOUR LEGISLATION WHICH GIVES PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO BARGAIN AND STRIKE, TO GET WHAT THEY FEEL IS OWED TO THEM. WE'VE PERMITTED THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND THE ORGANIZE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE. THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF WRITTEN-IN PROTECTIONS FOR CANADIANS AGAINST ECONOMIC MISHAPS, WHETHER THEY BE ON A PERSONAL NATURE LIKE UNEMPLOYMENT OR SICKNESS WITH HOSPITAL INSURANCE AND SO ON, OR WHETHER THEY BE MORE GENERAL, SUCH AS ALL THESE BUILT IN MARKET MECHANISMS TO PROTECT THE PRODUCERS, AND I THINK THEY WERE CHOICES OF A LIBERAL SOCIETY. WE FEEL THAT WE SHOULD SPREAD EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN THESE WAYS, BUT THEY ALL COST SOMETHING, THEY ALL COST SOMETHING IN TERMS OF TAXES AND WHEN THE WORLD ECONOMY IS GOING DOWN AND WE CAN NO LONGER, IN THE CASE SAY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, SELL ITS LUMBER FOR THE HOUSING MARKET IN THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE THE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOT BUYING IT OR WHEN THE MARKET FOR OUR MINERALS OR EVEN OUR MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS IS DRYING, EITHER BECAUSE WE'RE NOT COMPETITIVE OR

BECAUSE THERE ARE RECESSIONS IN OUR MAIN COUNTRIES LIKE THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, THEN WHAT HAPPENS IN CANADA IS THAT THERE IS LESS WEALTH TO GO AROUND AND WHAT WE HAVEN'T QUITE MANAGED TO DO IS TO SEE THAT ALL THESE PROTECTIVE MECHANISIMS WHICH ARE ALWAYS INTENDED TO PUT A FLOOR UNDER OUR INCOMES, THE STABILIZATION ACTS, DON'T SEND ANY SIGNALS TO PEOPLE THAT TIMES ARE A BIT TOUGH BECAUSE WE'RE SELLING LESS WELL AND THEREFORE WE HAVE TO ASK A LITTLE BIT OUT OF THE ECONOMY. THAT WE HAVEN'T BUILT INTO OUR ECONOMY. THAT CAN BE OBTAINED BY CONTROLS AS IT WAS IN 1975 BUT AS I TOLD YOU THEN, AND I STILL BELIEVE NOW THAT IT CAN BE OBTAINED BY CANADIANS PULLING TOGETHER A LITTLE MORE. THE MINISTER OF FINANCE, GOVERNMENTS FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL CAN SEND SIGNALS BY ECONOMIC POLICIES LIKE MAKING THE MONEY SUPPLY TIGHTER AND SAYING "LOOK IT'S NOT GOING TO BE SO EASY THIS YEAR" OR THEY CAN SEND SIGNALS BY HAVING TAXATION MEASURES, BUT THEY CAN'T GO OUT AND MAKE DECISIONS FOR THE PEOPLE, IT'S MUCH TO COMPLICATED. IT IS THE INSTITUTIONS THEMSELVES WHICH HAVE TO TAKE THAT INTO ACCOUNT AND TO PULL TOGETHER. YOU KNOW WHEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTROLS LEGISLATIVELY ONLY ABOUT 10% OF THE LABOUR FORCE. IT MEANS ALL THE PROVINCES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GETTING TOGETHER TO MAKE SURE THAT PRICES AND WAGES AND INCOMES DON'T GET OUT OF HAND, NOW WILL WE BE ABLE TO DO IT? THERE'S A FIRST MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY. WILL WE BE ABLE TO SEND THE RIGHT SIGNALS TO OUR PEOPLES AND TO OURSELVES SO THAT IN OUR INCOMES POLICIES, IN OUR PRICES POLICIES, WE DON'T PRETEND THAT WE CAN BE AS RICH IN A TIME WHEN THE WORLD IS NOT BUYING OUR PRODUCE AS IN A TIME WHEN THE WORLD IS BUYING OUR PRODUCE? THIS IS THE STUFF OF DEMOCRACY. IF YOU BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE CAN UNDERSTAND IT'S UP TO THE POLITICIANS TO EXPLAIN IT TO THEM, BUT JOB-OWNING IS AND MORALIZING IS THE ALTERNATIVE TO CONTROLS AND LEGISLATION AND I TELL YOU, WE'VE BUILT IN A LOT OF INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS. THEY ARE THERE AND IF THEY ARE GOING, IF PEOPLE THINK THAT THEY CAN KEEP US MAINTAINING OUR PACE OF GROWTH, EVEN WHEN THE WORLD IN GOING, FALLING APART AROUND US, AND WHEN OUR ENERGY IS COSTING MORE AND OUR MARKETS ARE BUYING LESS, THEN WE WILL GO BROKE AND I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT BECAUSE WE ARE A DEMOCRATIC AND INTELLIGENT SOCIETY, I BELIEVE WE WILL MANAGE TO DO BETTER THAN, AS WE HAVE DURING THE '70'S, TO DO BETTER THAN MOST OF OUR COMPETITIORS.

BP: ARE YOU SATISFIED PRIME MINISTER WITH THE QUALITY OF THE FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS, THE FINANCE DEPARTMENTS AND SO ON, NATURALLY I'M THINKING OF THE FIASCO OF THE RECENT BUDGET IN WHICH, AFTER A PERIOD OF ONLY A FEW WEEKS, THE FINANCE MINISTER HAD TO MAKE VERY SEVERE MODIFICATIONS. WHAT IS WRONG WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE FILLED WITH EXPERTS, THAT IT CAN'T SEE HOW WRONG SOME OF ITS OWN POLICIES CAN BE?

PT: WELL EXPERTS ARE NEVER SO GOOD NOR ARE THE COMPUTERS THAT THEY CAN TELL YOU EXACTLY IN ADVANCE WHAT IS GOING TO BE THE EFFECT OF A GIVEN LAW OR A GIVEN POLICY, AND THAT IS WHY THE WHOLE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM IS BEING USED IN MODERN TIMES WITH FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD READINGS, WITH COMMITTEE HEARINGS, WITH PUBLIC HEARINGS AND SO ON, SO THAT LAWS CAN BE DEBATED AND TESTED BEFORE THEY ARE PASSED. THE ONLY EXCEPTION TO THAT ARE BUDGETARY LAWS. YOU MUST READ THE BUDGET AND IT MUST BE A SECRET UNTIL THE NIGHT THAT YOU READ IT AND THEREFORE THE KIND OF CONSULTATION WHICH IS NECESSARY IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY IS NOT POSSIBLE IN THE CASE OF THE BUDGET. YOU MUST SHOOT FIRST AS IT WERE AND THEN ASK QUESTIONS AFTER AND I THINK THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT REALIZE THAT AND THEY'VE BEEN REALIZING IT MORE AND MORE. THAT'S WHY EVERY MINISTER OF FINANCE SINCE I'VE BEEN AROUND, AS HE BRINGS DOWN HIS BUDGET, ADDS A FEW PARAGRAPHS WHERE HE MUSES ABOUT THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF MAKING A GOOD BUDGET WITH THIS WHOLE SECRECY FETISH WHERE YOU CAN'T GO OUT AND

ASK PEOPLE "WELL LOOK THIS IS THE TAX WE'RE THINKING OF, WHAT EFFECT WILL IT HAVE ON YOU, WHY EFFECT WILL IT HAVE ON THIS REGIONS OR ON THIS BRANCH OF THE ECONOMY". YOU CAN'T DO THAT BECAUSE THEN YOU SAY YOU'RE GIVING AWAY BUDGET SECRETS, SO THE WHOLE SYSTEM WILL HAVE TO BE REFORMED, EITHER WITH A SPECIFIC DECISION OR IT WILL BE REFORMED AS MacEACHEN IS REFORMING IT NOW, BY SORT OF SAYING "WELL I BROUGHT THIS IN, THIS IS THE MAIN PICTURE OF THE BUDGET BUT NOW THAT I'VE HEARD THE ARGUMENTS, PRO AND CON, I'M GOING TO MAKE A LOT OF CHANGES". SO RATHER THAN HAVE THE CONSULTATION BEFORE, YOU HAVE THE CONSULTATION AFTER, WHICH MAKES THE BUDGET PROCESS MORE SIMILAR TO THE PROCESS MADE IN OTHER LAWS, WHETHER THEY BE CRIMINAL LAWS OR OTHER STATUTORY LAWS, YOU KNOW WE HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ATTORNEYS GENERAL, WE HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PREMIERS BEFORE CHANGING THE EQUALIZATION FORMULA. IN THE CASE OF THE BUDGET YOU CAN'T HAVE THESE DISCUSSIONS BEFORE SO WE HAVE THEM AFTER. I DON'T CONSIDER THAT A DISASTER AT ALL.

BP: WE'RE NEAR THE END OF OUR TIME. A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS. HOW DO YOU THINK THE COUNTRY'S CHANGED PRIME MINISTER IN THE TIME THAT YOU'VE BEEN HERE AND TO WHAT EXTENT YOU HAVE PERSONALLY BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THOSE CHANGES AND PERHAPS ALSO TO DWELL A LITTLE BIT ON THE WAY YOU MIGHT THINK THE COUNTRY MIGHT EVOLVE OVER THE NEXT FIVE OR TEN YEARS?

PT: WELL THE WAY IN WHICH IT'S CHANGED I THINK I COULD ANSWER RATHER EASILY BY SAYING THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOMETHING OF A COMING OF AGE IN THE WHOLE POST-WAR PERIOD, SHALL WE SAY THROUGH THE '50'S AND MUCH OF THE EARLY '60'S, WELL THERE WAS A KIND OF EUPHORIA THAT THE SKY IS THE LIMIT, THAT EVERYTHING WAS POSSIBLE, THAT WE COULD CONTINUE GETTING RICHER AT THE SAME PACE FOREVER AND WE'D BE ABLE TO USE THAT WEALTH TO REDISTRIBUTE IT AMONGST OURSELVES AND CANADA WAS REALLY BOOMING FORWARD, AS WELL AS THE REST OF THE WORLD. I THINK WE'VE REALIZED DURING THE LATE '60'S WITH THE CIVIL DISTURBANCES AND THE '70'S WITH THE OPEC CRISIS, WITH THE FLQ CRISIS, WITH THE BIRTH OF SEPARATISM IN QUEBEC, OR SHALL WE SAY THE COMING INTO POWER OF SEPARATISM INTO QUEBEC AND THE ALIENATIONS OF THE WEST AND THE GROWTH OF PROVINCIAL APPETITES WHICH I'M TALKING ABOUT AND THE POLARIZATION BETWEEN THE PRO AND THE ANTI-ABORTIONISTS AND THE PRO AND THE ANTI-POT LEGISLATION AND THE NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE WHITES AND SO ON, I THINK THE COUNTRY IS REALIZING THAT LIFE AIN'T EASY AND THAT WE ARE, AS ALL HARDSHIPS DO, ON PEOPLE WHO GROW UP, WE'RE BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT WE NEED A GREAT DEAL OF RESPONSIBILITY, A GREAT DEAL OF SELF CONTROL AS A NATION IF WE WANT TO MAKE IT, THAT IT WILL BE NO LONGER A BLANK CHEQUE ON THE FUTURE, THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO EARN OUR KEEP IN THIS SOCIETY AND THAT WILL MEAN A GREAT DEAL MORE FORBEARANCE, WORKING TOGETHER AND TOLERANCE THAN IT WAS IN THE PAST WHEN WE DIDN'T HAVE THIS ELECTRONIC PRESENCE ALL THE TIME AND WHEN CONFRONTATION WAS SO EASY.

BP: AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THESE CHANGES? IF YOU HAD TO STEP DOWN TODAY WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WAS YOUR SINGLE, MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT?

PT: WELL I THINK I'D BE INCLINED TO SAY LIKE , I SURVIVED.

BP: YOU SURPRISE ME. I THOUGHT YOU WOULD HAVE PUT YOUR FINGER RIGHT ON THE PATRIATION AGREEMENT.

PT: OH NO, I THINK THERE HAVE BEEN SOME GOOD TIMES, BUT A LOT OF DIFFICULT TIMES. WHAT I REALIZE THE LONGER I'M IN OFFICE IS THAT PROBLEMS DON'T GET EASIER. ONE WOULD THINK THAT WHEN YOU'VE DONE A THING, WHETHER IT BE DRIVE A CAR OR USE AN AXE, OR SEW A DRESS FOR A CERTAIN NUMBER OF YEARS, THEN YOU SORT OF GET VERY SKILLFUL AT IT. I THINK THAT IN THIS JOB, YOU KNOW, YOUR TRAINING MAY BE OF SOME HELP, BUT PROBLEMS DON'T GET EASIER AND THE TIME SPENT AT TRYING TO SOLVE THEM DOESN'T GET SHORTER AND WHEN I SAY I SURVIVED, I NOT ONLY QUOTE , BUT I THINK

IT PROBABLY MEANS THAT POLITICALLY, IN THE JUDGEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, WE'VE MANAGED THESE CRISES, WHICH SEEM ALWAYS VERY GREAT WHEN THEY HAPPEN, BUT WE'VE MANAGED THEM IN A WAY THAT OUR SOCIETY IN ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS HAS BEEN PRESERVED AND I THINK THAT'S NOT A BAD THING TO HAVE HAPPENED.

BP: PRIME MINISTER, HAPPY NEW YEAR. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

PT: HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU BRUCE.

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